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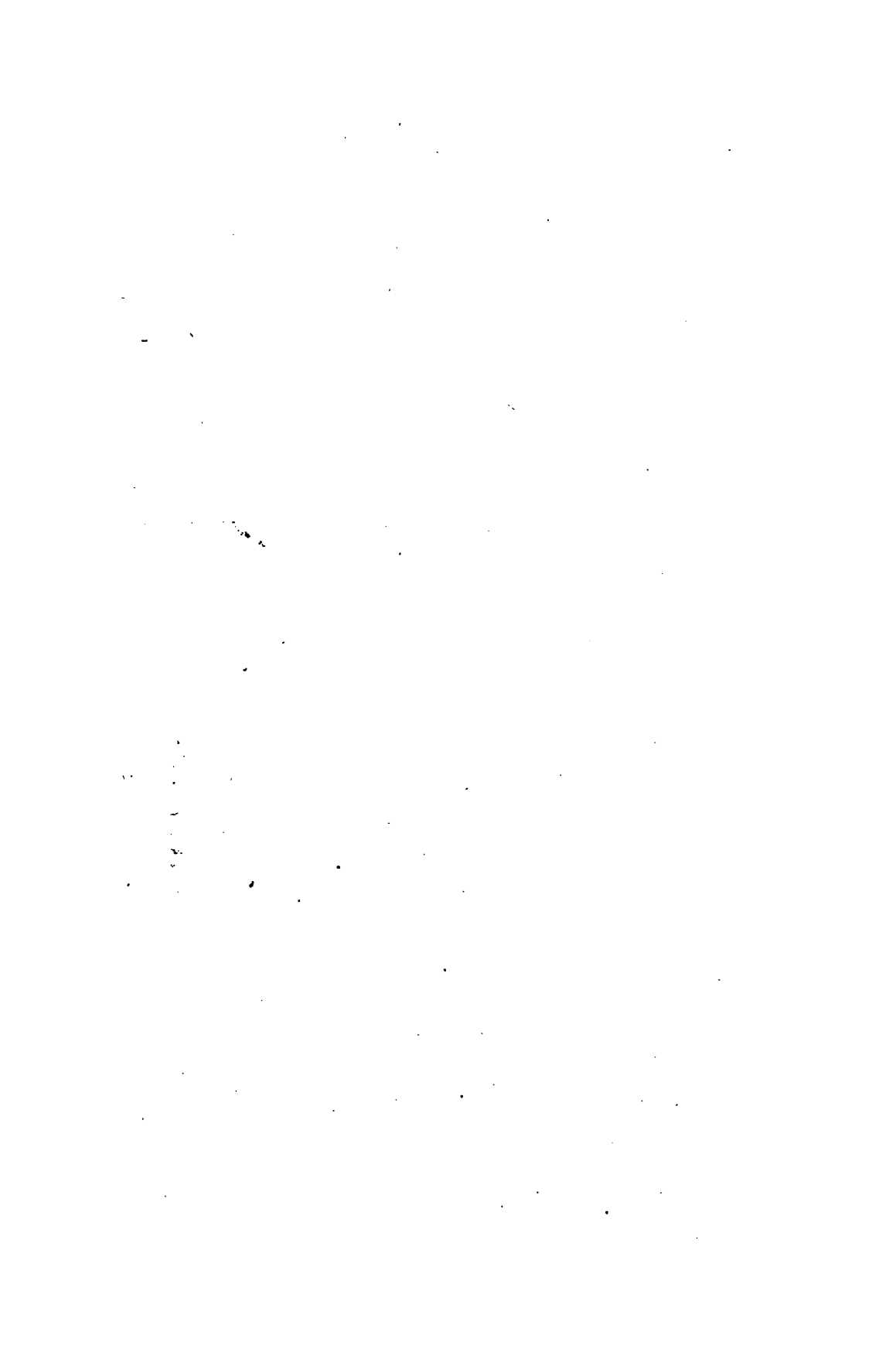
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T H E

T H E
G R E A T C A S E
O F
LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

Once more briefly debated and defended,

BY THE AUTHORITY OF
REASON, SCRIPTURE, and ANTIQUITY:

Which may serve the Place of a General Reply to such
late DISCOURSES as have opposed a TOLERATION.

The Author **WILLIAM PENN.**

Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even
so to them. Mat. vii. 12.

Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to
God, the things that are God's. Mark xii. 17.

VOL. III.

A

T O T H E
S U P R E M E A U T H O R I T Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

TOLERATION, for these ten years past, has not been more the cry of some, than persecution has been the practice of others, though not on grounds equally rational.

The present cause of this address, is to solicit a conversion of that power to our relief, which hitherto has been employed to our depression; that after this large experience of our innocency, and long since expired apprenticeship of cruel sufferings, you will be pleased to cancel all our bonds, and give us a possession of those freedoms, to which we are intitled by English birth-right.

This has been often promised to us, and we as earnestly have expected the performance; but to this time we labour under the unspeakable pressure of nasty prisons, and daily confiscation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of intire families.

We would not attribute the whole of this severity to malice, since not a little share may justly be ascribed to mis-intelligence.

For it is the infelicity of governors to see and hear by the eyes and ears of other men; which is equally unhappy for the people.

And we are bold to say, that suppositions, and mere conjectures, have been the best measures that most have taken of us, and of our principles; for whilst there have been none more inoffensive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

It is hard that we should always lie under this undeserved imputation; and, which is worse, be persecuted as such, without the liberty of a just defence.

In short, if you are apprehensive that our principles are inconsistent with the civil government, grant us a free conference about the points in question, and let us know what are those laws, essential to preservation, that our opinions carry an opposition to? And if upon a due enquiry we are found so heterodox as represented, it will be then but time enough to inflict these heavy penalties upon us.

And as this medium seems the fairest, and most reasonable; so can you never do yourselves greater justice, either in the vindication of your proceedings against us, if we be criminal; or if innocent, in disengaging your service of such as have been authors of so much mis-information.

But could we once obtain the favour of such debate, we doubt not to evince a clear consistency of our life and doctrine with the English government; and that an indulging of Dissenters in the sense defended, is not only most Christian and rational, but prudent also; and the contrary (how plausible soever insinuated) the most injurious to the peace, and destructive of that discreet balance, which the best and wisest states have ever carefully observed.

But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you, on which to rest its foot; much less that it should bring us back the olive-branch of TOLERATION; we heartily embrace and bless the providence of God; and, in his strength, resolve by patience to outweary persecution, and by our constant sufferings seek to obtain a victory, more glorious than any our adversaries can achieve by all their cruelties.

VINCIT QUI PATITUR.

From a prisoner for conscience sake,

Newgate, the 7th of
the 12th month, cal-
led February, 1670.

W. P.

T H E

(v)

T H E

P R E F A C E.

WERE some as Christian as they boast themselves to be, it would save us all the labour we bestow in rendering Persecution so unchristian as it most truly is. Nay, were they those men of reason they character themselves, and what the civil law stiles good citizens, it had been needless for us to tell them, that neither can any external coercive power convince the understanding of the poorest ideot, nor fines and prisons be judged fit and adequate penalties for faults purely intellectual; as well as that they are destructive of all civil government.

But we need not run so far as beyond the seas, to fetch the sense of the Codes, Institutes, and Digests, out of the *Corpus Civile*, to adjudge such practices incongruous with the good of civil society; since our own good, old, admirable laws of England have made such excellent provision for its inhabitants, that if they were but thought as fit to be executed by this present age, as they were rightly judged necessary to be made by our careful ancestors, we know how great a stroke they would give such as venture to lead away our property in triumph (as our just forfeiture) for only worshipping our God in a differing way from that which is more generally professed and established.

And indeed it is most truly lamentable, that above others (who have been found in so unnatural and anti-christian

christian an employment) those that by their own frequent practices and voluminous apologies, have defended a separation from the Papacy, should now become such earnest persecutors for it; not considering, that the enaction of such laws as restrain persons from the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion, is but a knotting whip-cord to lash their own posterity; whom they can never promise to be conformed to a National Religion. Nay, since mankind is subject to such mutability, they cannot ensure themselves from being taken by some persuasions that are esteemed heterodox, and consequently catch themselves in snares of their own providing. And for men thus liable to change, and no ways certain of their own belief to be the most infallible, as by their multiplied concessions may appear, to enact any religion, or prohibit persons from the free exercise of theirs, sounds harsh in the ears of all modest and unbiassed men. We are bold to say, our Protestant ancestors thought of nothing less, than to be succeeded by persons vain-glorious of their Reformation, and yet adversaries to Liberty of Conscience: For to people in their wits it seems a paradox.

Not that we are so ignorant, as to think it is within the reach of human power to fetter conscience, or to restrain its liberty, strictly taken: but that plain English, of Liberty of Conscience, we would be understood to mean, is this; namely, 'The free and uninterrupted exercise of our consciences, in that way of worship we are most clearly persuaded God requires us to serve him in, without endangering our undoubted birth-right of English freedoms: ' Which being matter of FAITH, we sin if we omit; and they cannot do less, that shall endeavour it.

To tell us we are obstinate, and enemies to government, are but those groundless phrases the first reformers were not a little pestered with: but as they said, so say we, The being called this, or that, does not conclude us so: and hitherto we have not been detected

tested of that fact, which only justifies such criminalations.

But however free we can approve ourselves of actions prejudicial to the civil government; it is most certain we have not suffered a little, as criminals, and therefore have been far from being free from sufferings; indeed, in some respect, horrid plunders: widows have lost their cows, orphans their beds, and labourers their tools. A tragedy so sad, that methinks it should oblige them to do in England as they did at Athens: when they had sacrificed their divine Socrates to the sottish fury of their lewd and comical multitude, they so regretted their hasty murder, that not only the memorial of Socrates was most venerable with them, but his enemies they esteemed so much theirs, that none would trade or hold the least commerce with them; for which some turned their own executioners, and without any other warrant than their own guilt, hanged themselves. How near a-kin the wretched mercenary informers of our age are to those, the great resemblance that is betwixt their actions manifestly shews.

And we are bold to say, the grand fomentors of persecution are no better friends to the English state, than were Anytus and Aristophanes of old to that of Athens; the case being so nearly the same, as they did not more bitterly envy the reputation of Socrates amongst the Athenians for his grave and religious lectures (thereby giving the youth a diversion from frequenting their plays) than some now emulate the true dissenter, for his pious life, and great industry.

And as that famous common-wealth was noted to decline, and the most observing persons of it dated its decay from that illegal and ingrateful carriage towards Socrates (witness their dreadful plagues, with other multiplied disasters) so it is not less worthy observation, that heaven hath not been wholly wanting to scourge this land, for, as well their cruelty to the conscientious, as their other multiplied provocations.

And when we seriously consider the dreadful judgments that now impend the nation (by reason of the robbery, violence, unwonted oppression, that almost every-where have not only been committed upon the poor, the widow, and the fatherless; but most tenaciously justified, and the actors manifestly encouraged) in mere pity and concern for the everlasting welfare of such as have not quite sinned away their visitation (for some have) we once more bring to public view our reasons against persecution, backed with the plainest instances both of Scripture and Antiquity; if but one may be persuaded to desist from making any farther progress in such an anti-protestant, and truly anti-christian path, as that of persecuting honest and virtuous Englishmen, for only worshipping the God that made them in the way they judge most acceptable with him.

But if those who ought to think themselves obliged to weigh these affairs with the greatest deliberation, will obstinately close their eyes to these last remonstrances, and slightly over-look the pinching case of so many thousand families, that are by these severities exposed for prey to the unsatiable appetites of a villainous crew of broken informers, daubing themselves with that deluding apprehension of pleasing God, or at least of profiting the country; (whilst they greatly displease the one, and evidently ruin the other) as certain as ever the Lord God Almighty destroyed Sodom, and layed waste Gomorrah, by the consuming flames of his just indignation, will he hasten to make desolate this wanton land, and not leave an hiding-place for the oppressor.

Let no man therefore think himself too big to be admonished, nor put too slight a value upon the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of so many thousand free-born English families, embarked in that one concern of Liberty of Conscience. It will become him better to reflect upon his own mortality, and not forget his breath is in his nostrils, and that every action of his life the everlasting God will bring to judgment, and him for them.

C H A P.

C H A P I.

That imposition, restraint, and persecution for conscience sake, highly invade the Divine prerogative, and divest the Almighty of a right, due to none besides himself, and that in five eminent particulars.

THE great case of Liberty of Conscience, so often debated and defended (however dissatisfactorily to such as have so little conscience as to persecute for it) is once more brought to publick view, by a late act against Dissenters, and Bill, or an additional one, that we all hoped the wisdom of our rulers had long since laid aside, as what was fitter to be passed into an act of perpetual oblivion. The kingdoms are alarmed at this procedure, and thousands greatly at a stand, wondering what should be the meaning of such hasty resolutions, that seem as fatal as they were unexpected. Some ask what wrong they have done? others, what peace they have broken? and all, what plots they have formed to prejudice the present government, or occasions given to hatch new jealousies of them and their proceedings? being not conscious to themselves of guilt in any such respect.

For mine own part, I publickly confess myself to be a very hearty Dissenter from the established worship of these nations, as believing Protestants to have much degenerated from their first principles, and as owning the poor despised Quakers; in life and doctrine, to have espoused the cause of God, and to be the undoubted followers of Jesus Christ, in his most holy, strait, and narrow way, that leads to the eternal rest. In all which I know no treason, nor any principle that would urge me to a thought injurious to the civil peace. If any be defective in this particular, it is equal both individuals and whole societies should answer for their own defaults; but we are clear.

However, all conclude that union very ominous and unhappy, which makes the first discovery of itself “ by
“ a

“ a John Baptist’s head in a charger.” They mean that feast which some are designed to make upon the liberties and properties of free-born Englishmen : Since to have the entail of those undoubted hereditary rights cut off, for matters purely relative of another world, is a severe beheading in the law : which must be obvious to all, but such as measure the justice of things only, by that proportion they bear with their own interest. A sort of men that seek themselves, though at the apparent loss of whole societies ; like to that barbarous fancy of old, which had rather that Rome should burn, than it be without the satisfaction of a bon-fire. And sad it is, when men have so far stupefied their understandings with the strong doses of their private interest, as to become insensible of the public’s. Certainly such an over-fondness for self, or that strong inclination to raise themselves in the ruin of what does not so much oppose them, as that they will believe so, because they would be persecuting, is a malignant enemy to that tranquillity, which all dissenting parties seem to believe would be the consequence of a toleration.

In short we say, there can be but two ends in persecution ; the one to satisfy (which none can ever do) the insatiable appetites of a decimating clergy (whose best arguments are fines and imprisonments) ; and the other, as thinking therein they do God good service : but it is so hateful a thing upon any account, that we shall make it appear, by this ensuing discourse, to be a declared enemy to God, religion, and the good of human society.

The whole will be small, since it is but an epitome of no larger a tract than fourteen sheets ; yet divides itself into the same particulars, every of which we shall defend against imposition, restraint, and persecution, though not with that scope of reason (nor consequently pleasure to the readers) being by other contingent disappointments limited to a narrow flint.

The

The terms explained, and the question stated.

First, By Liberty of Conscience, we understand not only a mere Liberty of the Mind, in believing or disbelieving this or that principle or doctrine; but ‘the exercise of ourselves in a visible way of worship, upon our believing it to be indispensably required at our hands, that if we neglect it for fear or favour of any mortal man; we sin, and incur divine wrath.’ Yet we would be so understood to extend and justify the lawfulness of our so meeting to worship God, as not to contrive, or abet any contrivance destructive of the government and laws of the land, tending to matters of an external nature, directly or indirectly; but so far only as it may refer to religious matters, and a life to come, and consequently wholly independent of the secular affairs of this, wherein we are supposed to transgress.

Secondly, By imposition, restraint, and persecution, we do not only mean the strict requiring of us to believe this to be true, or that to be false; and upon refusal, to incur the penalties enacted in such cases; but by those terms we mean thus much, ‘any coercive let or hindrance to us, from meeting together to perform those religious exercises which are according to our faith and persuasion.’

The question stated.

For proof of the aforesaid terms thus given, we singly state the question thus;

Whether imposition, restraint, and persecution, upon persons for exercising such a liberty of conscience as is before expressed, and so circumstantiated, be not to impeach the honour of God, the meekness of the Christian religion, the authority of Scripture, the privilege of nature, the principles of common reason, the well being of government, and apprehensions of the greatest personages of former and latter ages?

First,

First, Then we say, that Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution, for matters relating to conscience, directly invade the divine prerogative, and divest the Almighty of a due, proper to none besides himself. And this we prove by these five particulars :

First, If we do allow the honour of our creation due to God only, and that no other besides himself has endowed us with those excellent gifts of Understanding, Reason, Judgment, and Faith, and consequently that he only is the object, as well as the author, both of our Faith, Worship, and Service ; then whosoever shall interpose their authority to enact faith and worship in a way that seems not to us congruous with what he has discovered to us to be faith and worship (whose alone property it is to do it) or to restrain us from what we are persuaded is our indispensable duty, they evidently usurp this authority, and invade his incommunicable right of government over conscience : ‘ For the Inspiration of the Almighty gives ‘ understanding : and faith is the gift of God,’ says the divine writ.

Secondly, Such magisterial determinations carry an evident claim to that infallibility, which Protestants have been hitherto so jealous of owning, that, to avoid the Papists, they have denied it to all but God himself.

Either they have forsook their old plea ; or if not, we desire to know when, and where, they were invested with that divine excellency ; and whether imposition, restraint, and persecution, were ever deemed by God the fruits of his Spirit. However, that itself was not sufficient ; for unless it appear as well to us that they have it, as to them who have it, we cannot believe it upon any convincing evidence, but by tradition only ; an anti-protestant way of believing.

Thirdly, It enthrones man as king over conscience, the alone just claim and privilege of his Creator ; whose thoughts are not as mens thoughts, but has reserved to himself that empire from all the Cæsars on earth : For if men, in reference to souls and bodies, things appertaining

taining to this and the other world, shall be subject to their fellow-creatures, what follows, but that Cæsar (however he got it) has all, God's share, and his own too? And being Lord of both, both are Cæsar's, and not God's.

Fourthly, It defeats God's work of Grace, and the invisible operation of his eternal Spirit, (which can alone beget faith, and is only to be obeyed, in and about religion and worship) and attributes mens conformity to outward force and corporal punishments. A faith subject to as many revolutions as the powers that enact it.

Fifthly and lastly, Such persons assume the judgment of the great tribunal unto themselves; for to whomsoever men are imposedly or restrictively subject and accountable in matters of faith, worship and conscience, in them alone must the power of judgment reside: but it is equally true that God shall judge all by Jesus Christ; and that no man is so accountable to his fellow-creatures, as to be imposed upon, restrained, or persecuted for any matter of conscience whatever.

Thus, and in many more particulars, are men accustomed to intrench upon Divine Property, to gratify particular interests in the world; and (at best) through a misguided apprehension to imagine 'they do God 'good service,' that where they cannot give faith, they will use force; which kind of sacrifice is nothing less unreasonable than the other is abominable: God will not give his honour to another; and to him only, that searches the heart and tries the reins, it is our duty to ascribe the gifts of understanding and faith, without which none can please God.

CHAP II.

They overturn the Christian Religion; 1. In the nature of it, which is meekness; 2. In the practice of it, which is suffering; 3. In the promotion of it, since all farther discoveries are prohibited; 4. In the rewards of it, which are eternal.

THE next great evil which attends external force in matters of faith and worship, is no less than the overthrow of the whole Christian religion; and this we will briefly evidence in these four particulars, 1. That there can be nothing more remote from the nature, 2. The practice, 3. The promotion, 4. The rewards of it.

First, It is the privilege of the Christian faith above the dark suggestions of ancient and modern superstitious traditions, to carry with it a most self-evidencing verity, which ever was sufficient to proselyte believers, without the weak auxiliaries of external power. The Son of God, and great example of the world, was so far from calling his Father's omnipotency in legions of angels to his defence, that he at once repealed all acts of force, and defined to us the nature of his religion in this one great saying of his, MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD. It was spiritual, not carnal; accompanied with weapons as heavenly as its own nature, and designed for the good and salvation of the soul, and not the injury and destruction of the body: no gaols, fines, exiles, &c. but 'sound Reason, clear Truth, and strict Life.' In short, the Christian religion intreats all, but compels none.

Secondly, That restraint and persecution overturn the practice of it. I need go no farther than the allowed Martyrologies of several ages, of which the Scriptures claim a share; begin with Abel, go down to Moses, so to the Prophets; and then to the meek example of Jesus Christ himself; how patiently devoted was he to undergo the contradictions of men! and so far

far from persecuting any, that he would not so much as revile his persecutors, but prayed for them: Thus lived his apostles, and the true Christians of the first three hundred years. Nor are the famous stories of our first reformers silent in the matter; witness the Christian practices of the Waldenses, Lollards, Hussites, Lutherans, and our noble martyrs; who, as became the true followers of Jesus Christ, enacted and confirmed their religion with their own blood, and not with the blood of their opposers.

Thirdly, Restraint and persecution obstruct the promotion of the Christian Religion: For if such as restrain, confess themselves 'miserable sinners, and altogether imperfect,' it either follows, that they never desire to be better, or that they should encourage such as may be capable of farther informing and reforming them: They condemn the Papists for incossining the scriptures and their worship in an unknown tongue, and yet are guilty themselves of the same kind of fact.

Fourthly, They prevent many of eternal rewards: for where any are religious for fear, and that of men, it is slavish, and the recompence of such religion is condemnation, not peace: besides, it is man that is served; who having no power but what is temporary, his reward must needs be so too: he that imposes a duty, or restrains from one, must reward; but because no man can reward for such duties, no man can or ought to impose them, or restrain from them. So that we conclude Imposition, Restraint and Persecution, are destructive of the Christian religion, in the Nature, Practice, Promotion and Rewards of it, which are eternal.

CHAP. III.

They oppose the plainest testimonies of divine writ that can be, which condemn all force upon conscience.

WE farther say, that imposition, restraint and persecution are repugnant to the plain testimonies and precepts of the scriptures.

1. 'The inspiration of the Almighty gives understanding,' Job xxxii. 8.

If no man can believe before he understands, and no man understand before he is inspired of God; then are the impositions of men excluded as unreasonable and their persecutions for non-obedience as inhuman.

2. 'Wo unto them that take counsel, but not of me.' Isa. xxx. 1.

3. 'Wo unto them that make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproves in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of nought.' Isa. xxix. 15, 21.

4. 'Let the wheat and the tares grow together, until the time of the harvest, or end of the world,' Matt. xiii. 27, 28, 29.

5. 'And Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so amongst you.' Matt. xx. 25, 26.

6. 'And Jesus said unto them, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Luke xx. 25.

7. 'When his disciples saw this, (that there were non-conformists then, as well as now) they said, Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, as Elias did? but he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.' Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

8. 'Howbeit

8. 'Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he shall lead you into all truth.' John xvi. 8. 13.

9. 'But now the anointing which ye have received of him, abides in you; and you need not that any man teach you,' (much less impose upon any, or restrain them from what any are persuaded it leads to) 'but as the same anointing teaches you of all things, and is truth, and is no lye.' 1 John ii. 27.

10. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves; but rather give place unto wrath' (much less should any be wrathful that are called Christians, where no occasion is given). 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him drink; recompence no man evil for evil.' Rom. xii. 19, 20, 21.

11. 'For though we walk in the flesh,' (that is, in the body, or visible world) 'we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.' 2 Cor. x. 3. (but fines and imprisonments are; and such use not the apostles weapons that employ those). 'For a bishop, 1 Tim. iii. 3. (saith Paul) must be of good behaviour, apt to teach, no striker; but be gentle unto all men, patient, in meekness instructing, (not persecuting) those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.' 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

12. Lastly, We shall subjoin one passage more, and then no more of this particular; 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Matt. vii. 12. Luke vi. 31.

Now upon the whole, we seriously ask, Whether any should be imposed upon, or restrained, in matters of faith and worship? Whether such practices become the gospel, or are suitable to Christ's meek precepts and suffering doctrine? And lastly, Whether those, who are herein guilty, do to us as they would be done unto by others?

What if any were once severe to you; many are unconcerned in that, who are yet liable to the lash, as if they were not. But if you once thought the imposition

of a directory unreasonable, and a restraint from your way of worship unchristian, can you believe that Liberty of Conscience is changed, because the Parties, in point of power, are? Or that the same reasons do not yet remain in vindication of an indulgence for others, that were once employed by you for yourselves? Surely such conjectures would argue gross weakness.

To conclude: Whether persecutors at any time read the Scriptures, we know not; but certain we are, such practice as little of them as may be, who with so much delight reject them, and think it no small accession to the discovery of their loyalty, to lead us and our properties in triumph after them.

C H A P. IV.

They are enemies to the privilege of nature; 1. As rendering some more, and others less, than men; 2. As subverting the universal good that is God's gift to men; 3. As destroying all natural affection. Next, they are enemies to the noble principle of reason, as appears in seven great instances.

WE farther say, that imposition, restraint, and persecution, are also destructive of the great privilege of nature and principle of reason. Of nature, in three instances:

First, If God Almighty 'has made of one blood 'all nations,' as himself has declared, and that he has given them both senses corporeal and intellectual, to discern things and their differences, so as to assert or deny from evidences and reasons proper to each; then where any one enacts the belief or disbelief of any thing upon the rest, or restrains any from the exercise of their faith, to them indispensable, such an one exalts himself beyond his bounds, enslaves his fellow-creatures, invades their right of liberty, and so perverts the whole order of nature.

Secondly,

Secondly, Mankind is hereby robbed of the use and benefit of that instinct of a Deity, which is so natural to him, that he can be no more without it, and be, than he can be without the most essential part of himself. For to what serves that divine principle in the universality of mankind, if men be restricted by the prescriptions of some individuals? but if the excellent nature of it 'inclines men to God, not man; if the power of accusing and excusing be committed to it; if the troubled thoughts and sad reflections of forlorn and dying men make their tendency that way only,' (as being hopeless of all other relief and succour from any external power or command), What shall we say, but that such as invalidate the authority of this heavenly instinct, (as imposition and restraint evidently do) destroy nature, or that privilege which men are born with, and to.

Thirdly, All natural affection is destroyed: for those who have so little tenderness, as to persecute men that cannot for conscience-sake yield them compliance, manifestly act injuriously to their fellow-creatures, and consequently are enemies to nature; for nature being one in all, such as ruin those who are equally entitled with themselves to nature, ruin it in them, as in liberty, property, &c. and so bring the state of nature to the state of war; as the great Leviathan of the times, as ignorantly as boldly, does assert.

But, secondly, We also prove them destructive of the noble principle of reason, and that in these seven particulars:

1. In that those who impose, or restrain, are uncertain of the truth and justifiableness of their actions. In either of these, their own discourses and confessions are pregnant instances, where they tell us, that they do not pretend to be infallible, only they humbly conceive it is thus, or it is not. Since then they are uncertain and fallible, how can they impose upon, or restrain others, whom they are so far from assuring, that they are not able to do so much for themselves? What

is this, but to impose an uncertain faith, upon certain penalties?

2. As he that acts doubtfully is damned, so faith in all acts of religion is necessary: now in order to believe, we must first will; to will, we must judge; to judge any thing, we must first understand: if then we cannot be said to understand any thing against our understanding; no more can we judge, will, or believe against our understanding: and if the doubter be damned, what must he be that conforms directly against his judgment and belief, and they likewise that require it from him? In short, that man cannot be said to have any religion, that takes it by another man's choice, not his own.

3. Where men are limited in matters of religion, there the rewards which are entailed on the free acts of men are quite overthrown; and such as supersede that grand charter of Liberty of Conscience, frustrate all hopes of recompence, by rendering the actions of men unavoidable. But those think, perhaps, they do not destroy all freedom, because they use so much of their own.

4. They subvert all true religion; for where men believe, not because it is true, but because they are required to do so, there they will unbelieve, not because it is false, but so commanded by their superiors, whose authority their interest and security oblige them rather to obey, than dispute.

5. They delude, or rather compel people out of their eternal rewards; for where men are commanded to act in reference to religion, and can neither be secured of their religion, nor yet saved harmless from punishment, that so acting and believing disprivileges them for ever of that recompence which is provided for the faithful.

6. Men have their liberty and choice in external matters; they are not compelled to marry this person, to converse with that, to buy here, to eat there, nor to sleep yonder; yet if men had power to impose or restrain in any thing, one would think it should be

be in such exterior matters : but that this liberty should be unquestioned, and that of the mind destroyed, issues here, ' That it does not unbrute us, but unman us : ' for take away understanding, reason, judgment, and ' faith, and, like Nebuchadnezzar, let us go graze ' with the beasts of the field ' .

Seventhly and lastly, That which most of all blackens the business, is PERSECUTION : for though it is very unreasonable to require faith where men cannot chuse but doubt, yet, after all, to punish them for disobedience, is cruelty in the abstract : for we demand, ' Shall ' men suffer for not doing what they cannot do ? ' must they be persecuted here if they do not go against their consciences, and punished hereafter if they do ? But neither is this all ; for that part that is yet most unreasonable, and that gives the clearest sight of persecution, is still behind, namely, ' The monstrous arguments they have to convince an heretick with : ' not those of old, as spiritual as the Christian religion, which were, ' to admonish, warn, and finally to reject ; ' but such as were employed by the persecuting Jews and heathens against the Great Example of the world, and such as followed him, and by the inhuman Papists against our first reformers, as ' clubs, staves, stocks, ' pillories, prisons, dungeons, exiles, &c. in a word, ' ruin to whole families ; as if it were not so much ' their design to convince the soul, as to destroy the ' body .

To conclude : There ought to be an adequation and resemblance betwixt all ends, and the means to them ; but in this case there can be none imaginable : the end, is the conformity of our judgments and understandings to the acts of such as require it ; the means are fines and imprisonments, and bloody knocks to boot.

Now, what proportion or assimilation these bear, let the sober judge : the understanding can never be convinced, nor properly submit, but by such arguments as are rational, persuasive, and suitable to its own nature ; something that can resolve its doubts, answer

its objections, enervate its propositions. But to imagine those barbarous Newgate instruments of clubs, fines, prisons, &c. with that whole troop of external and dumb materials of force, should be fit arguments to convince the understanding, scatter its scruples, and finally convert it to their religion, is altogether irrational, cruel, and impossible. Force may make an hypocrite; 'it is faith, grounded upon knowledge, and consent, that makes a Christian.' And to conclude, as we can never betray the honour of our conformity (only due to truth) by a base and timorous hypocrisy to any external violence under heaven; so must we needs say, unreasonable are those imposers, who secure not the imposed or restrained from what may occur to them, upon their account; and most inhuman are those persecutors that punish men for not obeying them, though to their utter ruin.

CHAP. V.

They carry a contradiction to government; 1. In the nature of it, which is justice. 2. In the execution of it, which is prudence. 3. In the end of it, which is fidelity. Seven common, but grand objections, fairly stated, and briefly answered.

W E next urge, that force, in matters relating to conscience, carries a plain contradiction to government, in the nature, execution, and end of it.

By government we understand, an external order of justice, or the right and prudent disciplining of any society by just laws, either in the relaxation or execution of them.

First, It carries a contradiction to government in the nature of it, which is justice, and that in three respects.

1. It is the first lesson that great Synteresis, so much renowned by philosophers and civilians, learns mankind, 'To do as they would be done to;' since he
that

that gives what he would not take, or takes what he would not give, only shews care for himself, but neither kindness nor justice for another.

2. The just nature of government lies in a fair and equal retribution: but what can be more unequal, than that men should be rated more than their proportion to answer the necessities of government, and yet that they should not only receive no protection from it, but by it be disseised of their dear liberty and properties? We say, to be compelled to pay that power that exerts itself to ruin those that pay it, or that any should be required to enrich those that ruin them, is hard and unequal, and therefore contrary to the just nature of government. If we must be contributaries to the maintenance of it, we are entitled to a protection from it.

3. It is the justice of government to proportion penalties to the crime committed. Now granting our dissent to be a fault, yet the infliction of a corporal or external punishment, for a mere mental error (and that not voluntary) is unreasonable and inadequate, as well as against particular directions of the scriptures, Tit. iii. 9, 10, 11. For as corporal penalties cannot convince the understanding; so neither can they be commensurate punishments for faults purely intellectual: and for the government of this world to intermeddle with what belongs to the government of another, and which can have no ill aspect or influence upon it, shews more of invasion than right and justice.

Secondly, It carries a contradiction to government in the execution of it, which is prudence, and that in these instances.

1. The state of the case is this, that there is no republic so great, no empire so vast, but the laws of them are resolvable into these two series or heads;
 ‘Of laws fundamental, which are indispensable and
 ‘immutable; and laws superficial, which are temporary and alterable:’ and as it is justice and prudence to be punctual in the execution of the former, so, by
 B 4 circumstances,

circumstances, it may be neither to execute the latter, they being suited to the present conveniency and emergency of state; as the prohibiting of cattle out of Ireland was judged of advantage to the farmers of England, yet a murrain would make it the good of the whole that the law should be broke, or at least the execution of it suspended. That the law of restraint, in point of conscience, is of this number, we may farther manifest, and the imprudence of thinking otherwise: for first, if the saying were as true as it is false, "No bishop, no king," (which admits of various readings; as, "no decimating clergy, or no persecution, no king,") we should be as silent as some would have us; but the confidence of their assertion, and the impolicy of such as believe it, makes us to say, that a greater injury cannot be done to the present government. For if such laws and establishments are fundamental, they are as immutable as mankind itself; but that they are as alterable as the conjectures and opinions of governors have been, is evident; since the same fundamental indispensable laws and policy of these kingdoms have still remained, through all variety of opposite ruling opinions and judgments, and disjoined from them all. Therefore to admit of such a fixation to temporary laws, must needs be highly imprudent, and destructive of the essential parts of the government of these countries.

2. That since there has been a time of connivance, and that with no ill success to public affairs, it cannot be prudence to discontinue it, unless it was imprudence before to give it; and such little deserve it that think so.

3. Dissenters not being conscious to themselves of any just forfeiture of that favour, are as well grieved in their resentments of this alteration, as the contrary did oblige them to very grateful acknowledgments.

4. This must be done to gratify all, or the greatest part, or but some few only: it is a demonstration, all are not pleased with it; that the greatest number is not, the empty public auditories will speak: in short,
how

how should either be, when six parties are sacrificed to the seventh: that this cannot be prudence, common maxims and observations prove.

5. It strikes fatally at Protestant sincerity: for will the Papists say, Did Protestants exclaim against us for persecutors, and are they now the men themselves? Was it an instance of weakness in our religion, and is it become a demonstration of strength in theirs? Have they transmuted it from antichristian in us, to christian in themselves? let persecutors answer.

6. It is not only an example, but an incentive to the Romanists to persecute the reformed religion abroad: for when they see their actions (once void of all excuse) now defended by the example of Protestants, that once accused them, (but now themselves) doubtless they will revive their cruelty.

7. It overturns the very ground of the Protestants retreat from Rome: for if men must be restrained, upon pretended prudential considerations, from the exercise of their conscience in England; why not the same in France, Holland, Germany, Constantinople, &c. where matters of state may equally be pleaded? This makes religion state-policy; and faith and worship, subservient to the humours and interests of superiors: such doctrine would have prevented our ancestors retreat; and we wish it be not the beginning of a back-march; for some think it shrewdly to be suspected, where religion is suited to the government, and conscience to its conveniency.

8. Vice is encouraged: for if licentious persons see men of virtue molested for assembling with a religious purpose to reverence and worship God, and that are otherwise most serviceable to the commonwealth, they may and will infer, it is better for them to be as they are; since not to be demure, as they call it, is half-way to that kind of accomplishment which procures preferment.

9. For such persons as are so poor-spirited as to truckle under such restraints, what conquest is there over them, that before were conscientious men, and
now

now hypocrites? who so forward to be avenged of them, that brought this guilt upon them, as they themselves? and how can the imposers be secure of their friendship, whom they have taught to change with the times?

10. Such laws are so far from benefiting the country, that the execution of them will be the assured ruin of it, in the revenues, and consequently in the power of it: for where there is a decay of families, there will be of trade; so of wealth, and in the end of strength and power: and if both kinds of relief fail, men, the prop of republicks; money, the stay of monarchies; this, as requiring mercenaries; that, as needing freemen; farewell the interest of England! 'tis true, the priests get (though that is but for a time) but the king and people lose, as the event will shew.

11. It ever was the prudence of wise magistrates to oblige their people; but what comes shorter of it than persecution? what dearer to them than the liberty of their conscience? what cannot they better spare than it? their peace consists in the enjoyment of it: and he that by compliance has lost it, carries his penalty with him, and is his own prison. Surely such practices must render the government uneasy, and beget a great disrespect to the governors, in the hearts of the people.

12. But that which concludes our prudential part shall be this, that after all their pains and good-will to stretch men to their measure, they never will be able to accomplish their end: and if he be an unwise man, that provides means where he designs no end, how near is he of kin to him that proposes an end unobtainable. Experience has told us, 1. How invective it has made the imposed-on. 2. What distractions have ensued such attempts. 3. What reproach has followed to the Christian religion, when the professors of it have used a coercive power upon conscience. And lastly, That force never yet made either a good Christian, or a good subject.

Thirdly

Thirdly and lastly, Since the proceedings we argue against are proved so destructive to the justice and prudence of government, we ought the less to wonder that they should hold the same malignity against the end of it, which is felicity, since the wonder would be to find it otherwise; and this is evident from these three considerations:

1. Peace (the end of war and government, and its great happiness too) has been, is, and yet will be, broken by the frequent tumultuary disturbances that ensue the disquieting our meetings, and the esteeming fines upon our goods and estates. And what these things may issue in, concerneth the civil magistrate to consider.

2. Plenty (another great end of government) will be converted into poverty, by the destruction of so many thousand families as refuse compliance and conformity, and that not only to the sufferers, but influentially to all the rest; a demonstration of which we have in all those places where the late act has been any thing considerably put in execution. Besides, how great provocation such incharity and cruel usage, as stripping widows, fatherless, and poor, of their very necessities for human life, merely upon an account of faith or worship, must needs be to the just and righteous Lord of heaven and earth, scriptures, and plenty of other histories, plainly shew us.

3. Unity (not the least, but greatest end of government) is lost: for by seeking an unity of opinion, by the ways intended, the unity requisite to uphold us as a civil society, will be quite destroyed. And such as relinquish that, to get the other, besides that they are unwise, will infallibly lose both in the end.

In short, we say that it is unreasonable we should not be entertained as men, because some think we are not as good Christians as they pretend to wish us; or that we should be deprived of our liberties and properties, who never broke the laws that gave them to us: what can be harder, than to take that from us by a law, which the great indulgence and solicitude of our ancestors

cestors took so much pains to intail upon us by law; An. 18 Ed. 3. stat. 3. also stat. 20. Ed. 3. cap. 1. Again, Petition of Right, An. 3. Car. and more fully in *Magna Charta*; farther, peruse 37 Ed. 3. chap. 8. 28. 42 Ed. 3. cap. 7.

And we are persuaded, that no temporary subsequent law whatever to our fundamental rights, (as this of force on conscience is) can invalidate so essential a part of the government, as English liberty and property: nor that it is in the power of any on earth to deprive us of them, till we have first done it ourselves, by such enormous facts as those very laws prohibit, and make our forfeiture of that benefit we should otherwise receive by them: for these being such cardinal and fundamental points of English law-doctrine, individually, and by the collective body of the people, agreed to, and on which, as the most solid basis, our secondary legislative power, as well as executive, is built; it seems most rational that the superstructure cannot quarrel or invalidate its own foundation, without manifestly endangering its own security: the effect is ever less noble than the cause; the gift than the giver; and the superstructure than the foundation.

The single question to be resolved in the case, briefly will be this, whether any visible authority (being founded in its primitive institution upon those fundamental laws, that inviolably preserve the people in all their just rights and privileges) may invalidate all, or any, of the said laws, without an implicit shaking of its own foundation, and a clear overthrow of its own constitution of government, and so reduce them to their *Statu quo prius*, or first principles? The resolution is every man's, at his own pleasure. Read Hen. 3. 9, 14, 29. 25 Ed. 3. Cook's instit. 2. 19, 50, 51.

Those who intend us no share or interest in the laws of England, as they relate to civil matters, unless we correspond with them in points of faith and worship, must do two things, First, it will lie heavy on their parts to prove, that the ancient compact and original
of

of our laws carries that proviso with it; else we are manifestly diseased of our free-customs.

Secondly, They are to prove the reasonableness of such proceedings to our understandings, that we may not be concluded by a law we know not how to understand: for if I take the matter rightly (as I think I do) we must not buy or sell, unless of this or that persuasion in religion; not considering civil society was in the world before the Protestant profession; men, as such, and in affairs peculiarly relative to them in an external and civil capacity, have subsisted many ages under great variety of religious apprehensions, and therefore not so dependent on them as to receive any variation or revolution with them. What shall we say then? but that some will not that we should live, breathe, and commerce as men, because we are not such modelled Christians as they coercively would have us: they might with as much justice and reputation to themselves forbid us to look or see unless our eyes were grey, black, brown, blue, or some one colour best suiting theirs: for not to be able to give us faith, or save our consciences harmless, and yet to persecute us for refusing conformity, is intolerable hard measure.

In short, that coercive way of bringing all men to their height of persuasion, must either arise from exorbitant zeal and superstition, or from a consciousness of error and defect, which is unwilling any thing more sincere and reformed should take place; being of that cardinal's mind, who therefore would not hearken to a reformation, at the sitting of the council of Trent, because he would not so far approve the reformers judgment (for having once condescended to their apprehensions, he thought it would for ever enslave them to their sense); though otherwise he saw, as much as any man, the grand necessity of a reformation, both of the Roman doctrine and conversation.

Some

Some grand Objections in the Way must be considered.

Objection 1. 'But you are a people that meet
' with designs to disaffect the people, and to ruin the
' government.'

Answer. A surmise is no certainty; neither is a maybe, or conjecture, any proof: that from the first we have behaved ourselves inoffensively, is a demonstration; that our meetings are open, where all may hear our matter, and have liberty to object or discuss any point, is notorious. Ignorant calumnies are sandy foundations to build so high a charge upon: let us be fairly heard in public conference, how far we can justify our principles from being deservedly suspected of sedition or disloyalty, and not over-run us with mere suppositions. We declare our readiness to obey the ordinance of man, which is only relative to human or civil matters, and not points of faith, or practice in worship: but if accusations must stand for proofs, we shall take it for granted that we must stand for criminals; but our satisfaction will be, that we shall not deserve it, otherwise than as prejudice seeks to traduce us.

Object. 2. 'But you strike at the doctrine, at
' least the discipline, of the church; and consequently
' are hereticks.'

Answer. This story is as old as the reformation: if we must be objected against out of pure reputation, let it be in some other matter than what the Papists objected against the first Protestants; otherwise you do but hit yourselves in aiming at us? To say you were in the right, but we are in the wrong, is but a mere begging of the question; for doubtless the Papists said the same to you, and all that you can say to us. Your best plea was, conscience, upon principles the most evident and rational to you: do not we the like? What
if

if you think our reasons thick, and our ground of separation mistaken? Did not the Papists harbour the same thoughts of you? You persuaded as few of them, as we of you: were you therefore in the wrong? No more are we. It was not what they thought of you, or enacted against you, that concluded you: and why should your apprehensions conclude us? If you have the way of giving faith beyond what they had, and have the faculty of persuasion, evidence as much: but if you are as destitute of both, as they were to you; why should fines and prisons, once used by them against you, and by you exclaimed against, as unchristian ways of reclaiming hereticks (supposing yourselves to be such) be employed by you as rational, christian, and convincing upon us? To say we deserve them more, is to suppose yourselves in the right, and us in the wrong, which proves nothing. Besides, the question is not barely this, whether Hereticks or no Hereticks? But whether an Heretick should be persecuted into a disclaiming of his error? Your old arguments run thus, as I well remember.

1. Error is a mistake in the understanding.
2. This is for want of a better illumination.
3. This error can never be dislodged, but by reason and persuasion, as what are most suitable to the intellect of man.
4. Fines, gaols, exiles, gibbets, &c. are no convincing arguments to the most erring understanding in the world, being slavish and brutish.
5. This way of force makes, instead of an honest dissenter, but an hypocritical conformist; than whom nothing is more detestable to God and man.

This being the Protestants plea, we are not to be disliked by Protestants, for following their own avowed maxims and axioms of conscience in defence of its own liberty.

In short, either allow separation upon the single principle of 'My conscience owns this, or disowns that;' or never dwell in that building which knew no better foundation (indeed good enough); but, accusing

cusing your forefathers of schism and heresy, return to the Romish church. What sort of this can any say to an Anti-liberty-of-Conscience Protestant?

Object. 3. 'But at this rate ye may pretend to cut our throats, and do all manner of savage acts.'

Answ. Though the objection be frequent, yet it is as foully ridiculous. We are pleading only for such a liberty of conscience as preserves the nation in peace, trade, and commerce; and would not exempt any man, or party of men, from not keeping those excellent laws, that tend to sober, just, and industrious living. It is a Jesuitical moral, 'To kill a man before he is born:' first, to suspect him of an evil design; and then kill him, to prevent it.

Object. 4. 'But do not you see what has been the end of this separation? Wars, and revolutions, and danger to government; witness our late troubles.'

Answ. We see none of all this; but are able to make it appear, that the true cause of all that perplexed disturbance, which was amongst the *Homoousians* and *Arians* of old, and among us of latter years (as well as what has modernly attended our neighbouring countries) took its first rise from a narrowness of spirit, in not tolerating others to live the free men God made them, in external matters upon the earth, merely upon some difference in religion.

And were there once but an hearty toleration established, it would be a demonstration of the truth of this assertion. On this ground empire stands safe; on the other, it seems more uncertain.

But these are only the popular devices of some to traduce honest men, and their principles; whose lazy life, and intolerable advice, become questioned, by a toleration of people better inclined.

Object.

Object. 5. 'But what need you take this pains to prove liberty of conscience reasonable and necessary, when none questions it? All that is required is, that you meet but four more than your own families; and can you not be contented with that? Your disobedience to a law so favourable, brings suffering upon you.'

Ans. Here is no need of answering the former part of the objection: it is too apparent throughout the land, that Liberty of Conscience, as we have stated it, has been severely prosecuted, and therefore not so frankly enjoined. The latter part I answer thus, if the words lawful or unlawful may bear their signification from the nature of the things they stand for, then we conceive that a meeting of four thousand is no more unlawful than a meeting of four: for number, singly considered, criminales no assembly; but the reason of their assembling, the posture in which and the matter transacted, with the consequences thereof.

Now if those things are taken for granted to be things dispensable (as appears by the allowance of four besides every family) certainly the number can never render it unlawful: so that the question will be this, whether if four, met to worship God, be an allowable meeting, four thousand, met with the same design, be not an allowable meeting?

It is so plain a case, that the matter in question resolves it.

Object. 6. 'But the law forbids it.'

Ans. If the ENACTING any thing can make it lawful, we have done: but if an act so made by the Papists against Protestants, was never esteemed so by a true Protestant; and if the nature of the matter will not bear it; and lastly, that we are as much commanded by God to meet four thousand, as four; we must desire to be excused, if we forbear not the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is.

Object. 7. 'But the reason of the prohibition of ' the number is' (for you see they allow all that can be said to four thousand to be said to the family and four) ' that tumults may arise, and plots may be made, ' and the like inconveniencies happen to the govern- ' ment.'

Ans. Great assemblies are so far from being injurious, that they are the most inoffensive: for, first, they are open, exposed to the view of all, which of all things plotters are the stayest of. But how fair an opportunity it were for men so principled to do it in those allowed meetings of but four besides the family, is easy to guess, when we consider, that few make the best and closest council; and next, that such an assembly is the most private and clandestine, and so fitted for mischief and surprize.

Secondly, Such assemblies are not only public and large, but they are frequented, as well by those that are not of their way, as by their own. From whence it follows, that we have the greatest reason to be cautious and wise in our behaviour, since the more there be at our meetings, the more witnesses are against us, if we should say or act any thing that may be prejudicial to the government.

Lastly, For these several years none could ever observe such an ill use made of that freedom, or such wicked designs to follow such assemblies; and therefore it is high incharity to proceed so severely upon meer suppositions.

To this we shall add several authorities and testimonies for farther confirmation of our sense of the matter, and to let imposers see, that we are not the only persons who have impleaded persecution, and justified Liberty of Conscience, as Christian and rational.

C H A P. VI.

They reflect upon the sense and practice of the wisest, greatest, and best states and persons of ancient and modern times; as of the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, French, Hollanders, nay, Turks and Persians too: and Cato, Livy, Tacitus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jovianus, Chaucer, Dominicus Soto, Malverzey, Grotius, Raleigh, Doctor and Student, French and Dutch Protestants in England, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, a nameless but great Person, Lactantius, Hilary, Jerom, Chrysostom, Polish and Bohemian kings, King James, and King Charles the First.

A brief collection of the sense and practice of the greatest, wisest, and learnedest common-wealths, kingdoms, and particular persons of their times, concerning force upon conscience.

1. **T**HOUGH the Jews, above all people, had the most to say for imposition and restraint within their own dominions, having their religion instituted by so many signal proofs of divine original, it being delivered to them by the hand of God himself, yet such was their indulgence to Dissenters, that if they held the common received Noachical principles tending to the acknowledgment of ONE GOD and a just life, they had the free exercise of their distinct modes or ways of worship, which were numerous. Of this their own Rabbies are witnesses, and Grotius out of them.

2. The Romans themselves, as strict as they were, not only had thirty thousand gods (if Varro may be credited) but almost every family of any note had its distinct *Sacra*, or peculiar way of worship.

3. It was the sense of that grave, exemplary common-wealth's-man, Cato, in Sallust, that among other things which ruin any government, want of freedom

of speech, or men's being obliged to humour times, is a great one : which we find made good by the Florentine republick, as Guiccardine relates.

4. Livy tells us, ' It was a wonder that Hannibal's army, consisting of divers nations, divers humours, differing habits, contrary religions, various languages, should live thirteen years from their own country under his command, without so much as once mutinying, either against their general, or among themselves.' But what Livy relates for a wonder, that ingenious marquis Virgilio Malvetsey gives the reason of; namely, ' That the difference of their opinion, tongues, and customs, was the reason of their preservation and conquest :' for, says he, ' It was impossible so many contrary spirits should combine; and if any should have done it, it was in the general's power to make the greater party by his equal hand; they owing him more of reverence, than they did of affection to one another. This,' says he, ' some impute to Hannibal; but how great soever he was, I give it to the variety of humours in the army. For,' adds he, ' Rome's army was ever less given to mutinying when joined with the provincial auxiliaries, than when entirely Roman.' Thus much, and more, in his publick discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus.

5. The same best statift of his time, C. Tacitus, tells us in the case of Cremtius, that it had been the interest of Tiberius not to have punished him; inasmuch as curiosity is begotten by restriction of liberty to write or speak, which never missed of proselytes.

6. Justin Martyr I will forbear to quote in less than his ' Two Whole Apologies,' dedicated to Adrian and Antoninus Pius, as I take it.

7. Tertullian ad Scapulam, that learned and judicious apologist, plainly tells us, ' That it is not the property of religion to compel or persecute for religion :' she should be accepted for herself, not for force; that being a poor and beggarly one that has no better arguments to convince; and a manifest evidence of her superstition and falsehood.

8. Of

8. Of this we take the nine months reign of the emperor Jovianus to be an excellent demonstration; whose great wisdom, and admirable prudence in granting toleration, expressly saying, 'He would have none molested for the exercise of their religion,' calmed the impetuous storms of dissention betwixt the *Homooufians* and *Arrians*; and reduced the whole empire, before agitated with all kind of commotions during the reigns of Constantine, Constantius, and Julian, to a wonderful serenity and peace, as Socrates Scholasticus affirms.

9. That little kingdom of Ægypt had no less than forty thousand persons retired to their private and separate ways of worship, as Eusebius, out of Philo Judæus and Josephus, relates.

10. And here let me bring in honest Chaucer, whose matter (and not his poetry) heartily affects me: it was in a time when priests were as rich and lofty as they are now, and causes of evil alike.

** THE time was once, and may return again,
 (for oft may happen that hath been beforne)
 when shepherds had none inheritance,
 ne of land, nor fee in sufferance,
 But what might arise of the bare sheep,
 (were it more or less) which they did keep,
 Well ywis it with shepherds tho':
 nought having, nought fear'd they to forgo,
 For P A N (God) himself was their inheritance,
 and little them serv'd for their maintenance,
 The shepherd's God so well them guided,
 that of nought were they unprovided;*

** Butter enough, boney, milk, and whay,
 and their flock fleeces them to array.*

** The primitive state of things, observed by a poet, more than 300 years old; by which the clergy may read their own apostacy and character.*

** Time and prosperity corrupted them, and then they grew state-men.*

*But tract of time and long prosperity,
 (that nurse of vice, this of insolency)
 Lulled the shepherds in such security,
 that not content with loyal obeysance,
 Some gan to gap for greedy governance,
 and match themselves with mighty potentates.*

*° Lovers of lordships and troublers of states;
 then gan shepherds fwains to look aloft,
 And leave to live hard, and learn to lig soft,
 though under colour of shepherds same while
 There crept in Wolves full of fraud and guile,
 that often devour'd their own sheep,
 And often the shepherd that did them keep.*

*° This was the first source of the shepherds sorrow,
 that nor will be quit, with bale nor borrow.*

11. Who knows not that our first reformers were great champions for Liberty of Conscience? as Wickliff in his remonstrance to the parliament; the Albigenses to Lewis the 11th and 12th of France: Luther to the several diets under Frederick and Charles the fifth; Calvin to Francis the first; and many of our English martyrs, as the poor "Plowman's Famous Complaint," in "Foxe's Martyrology," &c.

12. The present affairs of Germany plainly tell us, that toleration is the preservation of their states; the contrary having formerly almost quite wasted them.

13. The same in France: who can be so ignorant of their story, as not to know that the timely indulgence of Henry the Fourth, and the discreet toleration of

° It was now they began to persecute; they hated any that were more devout than themselves: devotion was counted disaffection; religious assemblies, conventicles; primitive-spirited Christians, upstart hereticks: thus the tragedy began, Cain slaying Abel about religion.

° He truly maketh their avarice the cause of their degeneration; for it is the root of all evil.

Richlieu

Richlieu and Mazarin, saved that kingdom from being ruined, both by the Spaniards and one another?

14. Holland, than which what place is there so improved in wealth, trade and power, chiefly owes it to her indulgence in matters of faith and worship.

15. Among the very Mahometans of Turkey and Persia, what variety of opinions, yet what unity and concord is there? We mean in matters of a civil importance.

16. It was the opinion of that great master of the "sentences," Dominicus à Soto, 'That every man had a natural right to instruct others in things that are good: and he may teach the gospel-truths also, but cannot compel any to believe them; he may explain them: and to this, (says he) every man has a right,' as in his 4 Sent. dist. 5. art. 13. pag. 115. 7.

17. 'Strifes about religion,' said judicious and learned Grotius, 'are the most pernicious and destructive, where provision is not made for Dissenters: the contrary most happy; as in Muscovy.' He farther says, upon the occasion of Campanella, 'That not a rigid, but easy government, suits best with the northern people.' He often pleads the relaxation of temporary laws to be reasonable and necessary; as in the case of the *Curatii* and *Horatii*, and *Fabius Vitulanus*; and others stinted to time and place, as the Jewish laws, &c. Polit. Maxims, p. 12, 18, 78, 98.

18. The famous Raleigh tells us, 'That the way for magistrates to govern well, and gain the esteem of their people, is to govern by piety, justice, wisdom, and a gentle and moderate carriage towards them: and that disturbance attends those states, where men are raised, or depressed by parties.' See his observations and maxims of state.

19. If I mistake not, the French and Dutch Protestants enjoy their separate ways of worship in London, if not in other parts of these lands, without molestation: we do the like in remote countries, "but not in our own."

20. This must needs be the meaning of the learned doctor to his inquisitive student, in their judicious dialogue about the fundamental laws of the kingdoms, when he says, 'That such laws as have not their foundation in nature, justice and reason, are void, *' ipso facto'* And whether persecution or restraint upon conscience be congruous with either, let the impartial judge. Lib. 1. chap. 6.

21. Doctor Hammond himself, and the grand patron of the English church, was so far from urging the legality of restriction in matters relating to conscience, that he writ, argued, and left upon his dying-bed, his sense to the contrary; as the author of his life might have been pleased to observe, but that interest stood in the way; the doctor exhorting his party, 'not to seek to displace those then in the University, or to persecute them for any matter of religious difference.'

22. That a person of no less ability, in the Irish Protestant church, did the same, I mean Dr. Jer. Taylor, his whole discourse of "Liberty of Prophecy," is a most pregnant demonstration.

23. It was the saying of a person once, too great to be named now, 'That Liberty of Conscience is every man's natural right; and he who is deprived of it, is a slave in the midst of the greatest liberty: and since every man should do as he would be done to, such only do not deserve to have it, that will not give it.'

24. Lactantius reflects upon persecutors thus, 'If you will with blood, with evil, and with torments defend your worship, it shall not thereby be defended, but polluted.' Lib. 5. cap. 20.

25. Hillary against Auxentius saith, 'The Christian church does not persecute, but is persecuted.'

26. Jerom, thus; 'Heresy must be cut off with the sword of the spirit.' Proæm. lib. 4.

27. Chrysostom saith, 'That it is not the manner of the children of God to persecute about their religion,

'gion, but an evident token of antichrist.' Relig. Urif. pag. 192.

28. Stephen, king of Poland, declared his mind in the point controverted, thus; 'I am king of men, not of conscience; a commander of bodies, not of souls.'

29. The king of Bohemia was of opinion, 'That men's consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged, or constrained.'

30. And lastly, let me add (as what is, or should be now, of more force) the sense of king James and Charles the First, men famed for their great natural abilities and acquired learning, that no man ought to be punished for his religion, nor disturbed for his conscience; in that it is the duty of every man to give what he would receive. 'It is a sure rule in divinity' said king James, that God never loves to plant his church by violence and bloodshed.' And in his Exposition on Revel. 20. he saith, 'That *persecution* is the note of a false church.' And in the last king's advice to the present king, he says, 'Take heed of abetting any factions: your partial adhering to *any one side*, gains you not so great advantages in some men's hearts, (who are prone to be of their king's religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you.'

Again, 'Beware of exasperating any factions, by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours, or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon their difference in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion; wherein a charitable connivance, and Christian toleration, often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of religion.'

' Always

‘ Always keep up *solid piety*, and those fundamental truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favour and justice. Your prerogative is best shewn and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of laws; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny.’

Now upon the whole, we ask, what can be more equal, what more reasonable, than Liberty of Conscience; so correspondent with the reverence due to God, and respect to the nature, practice, promotion, and rewards of the Christian religion, the sense of Divine Writ, the great privilege of nature, and noble principle of reason, the justice, prudence, and felicity of government, and, lastly, to the judgment and authority of a whole cloud of famous witnesses, whose harmony in opinion as much detects the unreasonableness and incharity of persecutors, as their savage cruelties imply an high contempt of solid determinations: of which number I cannot forbear the mention of two, whose actions are so near of kin to one another, and both to inhumanity, as the same thing can be to itself.

The first is a great lord of Buckinghamshire, but so hearty a persecutor of the poor Quakers, that rather than they should peaceably enjoy the liberty of worshipping God, (and to supply the county-defect of informers) he has encouraged a pair of such wretches, that it had been a disgrace for the meanest farmer to converse with; one having been prisoner in Aylesbury, for theft, and said to have been burnt in the hand; and the other of a complexion not much less scandalous and immoral.

To give an undeniable testimony of their merit, once for all, I shall briefly relate a most notorious piece of perjury. They, suspecting a religious assembly to be at a certain place in the same county, came; and finding one in reality, repaired to one they call Sir Thomas Clayton, and a justice; where they deposed, ‘ That
‘ not only a meeting was at such an house, but one

‘ Tho.

‘ Tho. Zachery and his wife were there;’ who at the same time, as at the trial upon indictment for perjury at Aylebury was proved by sufficient witnesses from London, were then at that city; yet fined not only for being there, but for the speaker also, though none spoke that day.

Upon the prosecution of these men, as perjured men, and by the law disprivileged of all employ, and never to be credited more in evidence, several delays were made, much time spent, and not a little pains bestowed, all in hopes of an exemplary success, which proved so, but the wrong way; for the very last sessions, when the matter should have received an absolute decision, and the attendants have been dismissed (especially on the score of the witnesses, that came from London the second time, upon no other account) a letter was reported to have been writ from the afore-said lord, in favour of those informers, to this purpose, ‘ That since Sir Tho. Clayton was not present, the business could not well be determined; but if the court would undertake the ending of it, he besought them to be favourable to those HONEST MEN.’ If this be true, as said, it is a most aggravated shame to nobility! What! to protect them from the lash of the law, who went about to destroy truth, the life of it! it is a dishonour to the government, a scandal to the country, and a manifest injury to an inoffensive and useful inhabitant.

The other is as well known by his cruelty, as by his name, and he scarce deserves another; however, he is understood by that of the Reading knight-errant, and always in armour for the devil; a man whose life seems to be whole BONNER revived. Hogestrant, the Popish Inquisitor, could not hate Martin Luther more, than he does a poor Dissenter; and wants but as much power, as he has will, to hang more than he has imprisoned. The laws made against Papists, he inflicts upon the Quakers; and makes it crime enough for a premunire, to have an estate to lose.

The single question is not, 'Were you at such a meeting?' (which the act intends) but, 'Will you swear?' (which it intends not). And women escape him as little for this, as those of his own tribe do for some things else. But what of all things most aggravates the man's impiety, is the making a devilish snare of a Christian duty; since such as have come to visit the imprisoned, have been imprisoned themselves for their charity. So that with him it seems a current maxim, that those must not come to see prisoners, and not be such themselves, who will not take the oath of allegiance to do it.

To relate the whole tragedy, would render him as bad, as the discourse big; and the latter not less voluminous, than the former odious. But three things I shall observe:

First, that he has crowded seventy-two persons (of those called Quakers) men and women, immodestly into jail, not suffering them to enjoy common conveniences. And for his diversion, and the punishment of little children, he pours cold water down their necks.

Secondly, His imprisonments are almost perpetual. First, he premunires them, without any just cause of suspicion; then imprisons them; and lastly plunders them, and that by a law enacted against Romanists; which, if all be true that is said, is more his concern than theirs, if, without offence, it may be supposed he has any religion at all.

Thirdly, Some have been there about eight years; and should be eighteen more, were he as sure to live (being more than seventy) and enjoy his power, as doubtless he hopes to die before those good laws overtake him that would make an example of such an oppressor. In short, wives, widows, poor and fatherless, are all fish for his net; and whether over or under age, he casts none away, but seems to make it his privilege to correct law, by out-doing it. When we have said all we can (and we can never say too much, if enough) he is still his own best character,

Such

Such are the passions, follies, and prejudices, men devoted to a spirit of imposition and persecution are attended with.

Non enim possumus quæ vidimus, & audivimus, non loqui.

In short, what religious, what wise, what prudent, what good-natured person, would be a persecutor? Certainly it is an office only fit for those, who being void of all reason, to evidence the verity of their own religion, fancy it to be true, from that strong propensity and greedy inclination they find in themselves to persecute the contrary. A weakness of so ill a consequence to all civil societies, that the admission of it ever was, and ever will prove their utter ruin, as well as their great infelicity, who pursue it.

And though we could not more effectually express our revenge, than by leaving such persons to the scope of their own humours; yet being taught to love and pray for our persecutors, we heartily wish their better information, that (if it be possible) they may act more suitably to the good pleasure of the eternal just God, and beneficially to these nations.

To conclude; Liberty of Conscience, as thus stated and defended, we ask, as our undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of our own country. It has been often promised; we have long waited for it; we have writ much, and suffered in its defence, and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redress.

However, we take the righteous holy God to record, against all objections that are ignorantly or designedly raised against us, That

1st. We hold no principle destructive of the English government.

2d. That we plead for no such Dissenter (if such a one there be.)

3d. That we desire the temporal and eternal happiness of all persons (in submission to the divine will of God); heartily forgiving our cruel persecutors.

4thly,

4thly, and lastly, We shall engage, by God's assistance, to lead peaceable, just and industrious lives amongst men, to the good and example of all. But if, after all we have said, this short discourse should not be credited, nor answered in any of its sober reasons and requests, but sufferings should be the present lot of our inheritance from this generation; be it known to them all, that meet we must, and meet we cannot but encourage all to do (whatever we sustain) in God's name and authority, who is Lord of Hosts, and King of Kings; at the revelation of whose righteous judgments, and glorious tribunal, mortal men shall render an account of the deeds done in the body. And whatever the apprehensions of such may be concerning this discourse, it was writ in love, and from a true sense of the present state of things, and time and the event will vindicate it from untruth. In the mean while, it is matter of great satisfaction to the author, that he has so plainly cleared his conscience, in pleading for the "Liberty of other men's," and publicly borne his honest testimony for God, not out of season to his POOR COUNTRY.

P O S T S C R I P T.

A few brief Observations upon the late Act, and the usual Terms of Acts of this Nature.

THAT which we have to say, relates either to the terms of the act, or the application of them to us. As to the terms of the act, they are these; "Seditious Conventicles, Seditious Sectaries, and Meetings under colour or pretence of religion."
P. I.

I. **SEDITIONOUS**, from **SEDITION**, imports as much as
"Turbulent, Contentious, Factionous, which sows strife
" and

“ and debate, and hazards the civil peace of the government.”

2. CONVENTICLE, “ is a diminutive private assembly, designing and contriving evil to particular persons, or the government in general.” See LAMB. p. 173. In Tertullian’s sense, it is “ an assembly of immodest and unclean persons;” at least it was so taken in those days, and objected against the Christians as their practice, whom he defends. TER. APOL.

3. SECTARIES, “ must be such as disjoin or dismember themselves from the body of truth, and confess to a strange and untrue opinion. If any subject of this realm, being sixteen years of age, or upwards, shall be present at any assembly, or conventicle, on pretence of religion, &c,” which can signify no more than thus much, that true it is, some may meet and assemble to worship God, and upon a religious account, that are Dissenters; such we censure not; but those who, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, conspire, &c. they are to be suspected and prosecuted.”—This being the true explanation of the terms of the act, we proceed to shew how unreasonably they are applied to us.

1. Words are but so many intelligible marks and characters, set and employed to inform us of each others conceptions, and therein of the nature of those things they stand for. Now because we take the act to mean what it speaks, and that the law concludes no man guilty upon conjectures, but from the detection of some fault; we affirm ourselves altogether unconcerned in that word *Seditious*, because it was never our practice, in words or actions, ‘ to disturb the government, ‘ or suggest principles that might hatch conspiracies, ‘ or feed the vulgar with disaffection to their rulers;’ but before the king’s coming in, at his coming in, and ever since, notwithstanding our frequent suffering, ‘ we have made it our business to heal animosities, preach forgiveness and charity amongst men,’ and that they would, by an hearty repentance, turn
to

to God, rather than hunt after revenge upon one another: therefore we assert, we have not done one thing that may be proved *Seditious*, in the sense above-mentioned.

2. That we are strangers to *Conventicles* is most evident; for where the parts that render it such are wanting, there can be no conventicle: but that they are in our assemblies, appears; first, 'Because our meetings are not small. 2. Neither are they private or clandestine; but in the view of all people. Nor are they riotous, licentious, or otherwise immodest, or immoral; but on purpose to dissuade persons from such impieties.' So that we are clear in the interpretation of the law, 13 H. 5. cap. 8. 19, and 19 H. 7. cap. 13, and in the sense of the famous father Tertullian.

3. *Sectaries*, is a word, that whosoever has but confidence enough to conceit himself in the right, by consequence wants none to suppose the contrary in the wrong, and so to call him a *Sectary*. But this is but a mere begging of the question; for to say those are *Sectaries*, does not include them such; nor does the act speak so plainly of Dissenters. But granting it did, yet they must be *Seditious* ones, or else all will be in vain. Where we may observe, that purely to be a *Sectary* is not what the act strikes at, but to be a *Seditious* one: for a man may differ in judgment about matters of faith, from the national religion, and yet correspond with the government in matters civil. So that the act upon the whole aims not at *Sectaries* simply, but they must be such as are enemies to the civil constitution to be rendered *Seditious* ones, from which we have sufficiently cleared ourselves.

4. "That we meet under colour and pretence, and not really, to worship God," we deny, and none can prove. It were high incharity to affirm positively, 'this or that people meet only under a colour of religion.' Yet unless the act had so expressed itself, we conceive their authority lame and imperfect that persecute us by it. It will help but little to say, the
king,

king, lords, and commons, by the following words, "In other manner than according to the liturgy of the church of England," meant, that such meet under a pretence that did not conform to that worship; since the precedent words say, "under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner," &c. So that they are only struck at, who are not sincere Dissenters; but that are such, with design to carry on another end.

Obj. But may some say, 'It is granted, you have very evidently evaded the force of the act, so far as relates to these recited expressions. But what if a bill be ready, for an explanatory and supplementary act to the former, wherein this scope for argument will not be found; because your meetings will be absolutely adjudged seditious, riotous, and unlawful.'

To which we answer, That as the granting of the first, which none reasonably can deny, is a manifest impeachment of such as have violently prosecuted people for being present at religious assemblies (almost to their utter undoing) so shall we as easily answer the second, which amounts to the force of an objection, and briefly thus:

First, It is not more impossible for mankind to preserve their society without *speech*, than it is absolutely requisite that the speech be *regular* and certain. For, if what we call a *man*, a *lion*, a *whale*, to-day, we should call a *woman*, a *dog*, a *sprat* to-morrow; there would be such uncertainty and confusion, as it would be altogether impossible to preserve speech or language intelligible.

Secondly, It is not in the power of all the men in the world to reconcile an absolute *contradiction*, to convert the nature of *light* into that of *darkness*, nor to enact a thing *to be* that which it *is not*: but that those endeavour to do, who think of making our religious meetings routs and riots. For, 1. They offer violence

to our common propriety of language; it being the first time that ever a religious and peaceable assembly would be enacted a rout or riot. Nature, reason, the law of the land, and common practice and observation, give a clear contrary definition of a rout and riot. 2. They endeavour to reconcile contradictions; for they would have a thing that, which by nature it cannot be: for that which is peaceable cannot be riotous; and what is religious can never be seditious. For any to say, 'our meetings are not religious,' is not only a poor evasion, but great incharity: for that is properly a religious assembly, where persons are congregated with a real purpose of worshipping God, by prayer, or otherwise, let the persons met be esteemed doctrinally orthodox, or not. Can any be so ignorant, or so malicious, as to believe we do not assemble to worship God, to the best of our understanding? If they think otherwise, they must, and do, assume unto themselves a power beyond the arrogancy of the POPE himself, that never yet ventured to tell man his thoughts, nor the purposes and intents of his heart; which he, or they, must do, that definitively judge our assemblies (void of sword or staff, drum or musket, tumult or violence, and circumstantiated with all the tokens of Christian devotion) a rout or a riot. And truly, if Protestants deny the legality of those acts or edicts, which were contrived and executed in order to their suppression, by the respective kings and parliaments that owned the Romish faith and authority, where they either did or do live, let them not think it strange, if we on the same terms (namely, scruple of conscience) refuse compliance with their laws of restraint. And as the first reformers were no whit daunted at the black characters the Romanists fastened on them, neither thought their assemblies, in a way of professed separation, the more unlawful for their representing them such; no more are we surprized or scared at the ugly phrases daily cast upon us by a sort of men, that either do not know us, or would not that others should:

for

for we are not so easily to be braved, menaced, or persecuted out of our sense, reason, and privilege.

They say, 'LOSERS have leave to speak;' at least we take it; none being greater losers, than such as, for dissenting from national institutions in point of faith or worship, are deprived of their common rights and freedoms, and hindered as much as may be from reverencing the God that made them, in that way which to them seems most acceptable to him.

To conclude; we say, (and by it let our intentions in our whole discourse be measured) that we have not defended any Dissenters, whose quarrel or dissent is rather civil and political, than religious and conscientious: for we really think such unworthy of protection from the English government, who seek the ruin of it; and that such as are contributors to the preservation of it, (though Dissenters in point of faith or worship) are unquestionably intitled to a protection from it.

A
SEASONABLE CAVEAT
AGAINST
P O P E R Y:

Or, A PAMPHLET, intituled,
AN EXPLANATION of the ROMAN
CATHOLICK BELIEF,

BRIEFLY EXAMINED,

BY WILLIAM PENN.

But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, Matt. xv. 9.
Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobates concerning the faith. 2 Tim. iii. 8.

T O
The ENGLISH PROTESTANT Reader.

WE hope it may not be too late to militate for truth against the dark suggestions of papal superstition.—Nor can we think that it should be esteemed Heterodox, for a dissenting Protestant (whilst almost gasping for his own liberty) to vindicate that of reformation, from the quaintest stratagems, and most unwearied endeavours, of Romish emissaries, to put both it and us into their inquisition.

We know they have so far mastered their ancient fierceness, and masked their sanguine looks with those more modest and familiar, that though we need not

54 To the ENGLISH PROTESTANTS.

more reason than before, we need more skill and caution, or else we may too fatally experience the force of that vulgar proverb; "Laugh in thy face, and cut thy throat."

They are grown so complaisant, as none seem more exasperated at persecution than themselves, (whilst the very fathers of it) decrying the fierceness of some countries (whose incendiaries they were, and still are) and imputing all the blood of poor Protestants to some unwarrantable civil score, (therein abusing the civil magistrate with the execution of their own conspiracies): nay, for all their venerable esteem of the Pope's infallibility, they have not stuck to censure his roaring bulls (though procured by their own means) and all that might express their new tenderness; that many, unacquainted with their practices, are ready to believe them what they say themselves to be; 'whose moral is to have two strings to their bow, to be ambo-dexter, and furnished with meanings to suit the compass of all occasions.'

In short, I premise three things:

First, That I cordially believe a great number of Romanists may be abused zealots, through the idle voluminous traditions of their church; whom I rather pity, than dare to wrong.

Secondly, That I design nothing less than incensing of the civil magistrate against them (were such a thing possible): for I profess myself 'a friend to an universal toleration of faith and worship.'

Thirdly, That the pamphlet answered, being but one sheet, I confine my examination to a narrow compass: and the rather, because a more considerable discourse is under my present enquiry; which, if Providence so order it, may speedily be made publick.

However, let this go for preface to that larger tract; in which the Romanists may see both their ignorance in the marks of a true church, and their little share or interest in those they attribute to her as such.

Penn, Buckinghamshire,
the 23d of the 11th
Month, 1670.

W. P.

A SEA-

A

SEASONABLE CAVEAT

A G A I N S T

P O P E R Y.

THOUGH to argue against a tribe of men, that esteem *all* REASON *carnal*, and SCRIPTURES *imperfect*, might rightly be judged a mere beating of the air, and a task only to be enterprized by such as are desirous of no success; yet to prevent those who may be deceived, and if possible to reclaim such as are; and lastly, to clear mine own conscience, (most of all in mine eye) I shall descend to consider the *unsound*, as well as *untrue*, confessions of the Romanists in the pamphlet under examination.

I. Of the SCRIPTURES.

Papist. ‘ **W**E believe the Holy Scriptures to be of Divine Inspiration, and Infallible authority; and whatsoever is therein contained to be ‘ the Word of God.’ Page 1.

Ans. Certainly these men must either think we are wholly ignorant of their principles, or we must needs conclude they have forsaken them. It is so manifest that they have robbed the scriptures of their authority, that the POPE has all; and they have then only any,

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when he is pleased to stamp his *probatum est* upon them. That this is true, how frequent do we find the Romanists in their reflections upon the Protestants on this occasion, ‘ That they had not known the scriptures to ‘ be such ; nay, they might have been as an idle tale ‘ to them, had they not been received, believed, and ‘ delivered down, as divine writ, by their church !’ As if the ground of believing this to be true, and that to be false, had been as much that of true faith, as we know it, by sad experience, to be the cause of that stupid superstition, and brutish zeal, which reign amongst the abused Romanists. Besides, if the scriptures be infallible, as they confess, why are those doctrines and practices retained in the Romish church which most expressly oppose the sense of scripture, upon the single edicts of the Pope ; as that of ‘ prohibiting priests to marry, and flesh to be eaten upon ‘ certain days ?’ Of which the truly catholick apostle gives this definitive judgment, they are “ the doctrine of devils.” Nor are their practices, in lieu thereof, less diabolical ; since their fasts are most usually kept with ‘ excessive treats of wine and sweetmeats ;’ and their priests are notoriously allowed to frequent stews, or to keep as many strumpets as their purse or lust shall please ; though it be a most cardinal offence, by marrying, to have one honest woman. But those who travel Italy are not unacquainted with the Pope’s gain, or taxes on such places, for which they have his broad-seal, or open licence.

Perhaps some will say, ‘ These are but minute matters’ (however good old Paul might zealously stile them doctrines of devils) and therefore we will instance in something more important.’ What think the Papists of their IMAGES ? ‘ ’Tis true, that they say they do not adore them now ; but we know what esteem their first erectors put upon them, and the high value the Romish church places upon the inventors : and it is as impossible we should give our eyes the lie, when we behold them macerating their breasts and knees before those unsensible stocks and stones, as Romanists
are

are wont to think us most absurd in crediting our senses; as if that proverb were of no moment, 'Seeing is believing, or rather convincing.'

Alas, their popes, cardinals, friars, nunneries, holy-days, with other points more doctrinal yet to be examined, whence came they? What scripture ever authorized such practices in the Christian church? Paul told the churches, "He had not been wanting to declare the whole counsel of God unto them;" and yet were they wholly ignorant of these things, and that for above three hundred years after.

Therefore we infer, that since there is that manifest jar betwixt this piece of their profession, and their present practice, as well as doctrine, they have either relinquished their former faith, or play the wretched impostors with the people. I wish the first, but fear the last.

Papist. 'But since in the scripture there are some things hard to be understood, which the unstable wrest to their own destruction; we therefore profess, for the end of controversies, to submit our judgment to that of the church in a free general council.'

Ans. A poor shift to invalidate scriptures, and entitle their own traditions to the honour of a rule, and as what most aptly should decide all controversies.

Peter's words, applied to render this pretence more plausible, are miserably misapplied. The apostle only says, that Paul had writ to them concerning "the long-suffering of God, that it was salvation; (the present subject handled by Peter) and that in those epistles Paul had "some things hard to be understood." But what were those things? Not those in controversy betwixt us and the Papists, nothing being more notorious. And who were they that wrested them, but the unlearned and unstable, not in the wisdom of this world, (that being science, falsely so called!) but wicked and ungodly men? as the profuse Atheist of the times, in his frequent abuse of the scripture,

ture, by his scurrilous misinterpretation of it. For as the wise man said, "To fear God, is wisdom," (or true learning) and "to depart from iniquity, that is "a good understanding;" and as Jesus Christ said, "They that do my will, shall know of my doctrine." How then can the Papists infer from hence, that the scriptures are imperfect, in the more fundamental points of faith and worship? Can it be the word of God, and yet wanting sufficiency?

A free general council is a monster, in the Romish church! How dare they talk such language here in England, who know the severity of the Jesuits and Popish faction against it beyond the seas? What meant those ill resentments against White and Serjeant of England, and Welch of Ireland, in Rome; if this latitudinarian or new kind of popery had not disgusted? Nor can I take it for an instance of their return; but as the next best step to the exorbitancy of popish infallibility.

What should a council be called for? That principles should be received or disowned? Then must a general council give faith, and understanding; or else men must be concluded to believe against their belief, by plurality of votes: a thing ridiculous, with half-witted people. If God's grace, and the scripture record, be not sufficient, reason and experience tell us that general councils are much more insufficient. Besides, this were to usher in all kind of impiety: for whatever interest in the general council (as that of Trent) concludes as requisite to be received or done, that must indispensably be obeyed: so that the moral or doctrinal good or evil of an act, or principle (in and from a man's own judgment) shall not be obliging; but he must be bound against his own sense, reason, and faith.

The sense of antiquity, and their own authors.

Their pretence of using tradition for a necessary supply to the defects of the scriptures, is a mere juggle;

gle; since they only evade the clearness of the one, to shroud their defective doctrines under the abused antiquity of the other. For it is well known, that by their "Expurgatory indices," they have endeavoured to purge the works of the first fathers, of such matters as might make to the overthrow of their superstitious doctrines. This is evident out of Junius, in the case of Bertram, elder than Theophylact, Oecumenius, &c. Bellarmine himself sticks not to allow it, but shifts it off to an Arian.

This may be farther seen, in the collection Binius made of the fathers, pag. 28. 2 edit. an. 221. In short, whole sentences are put out, and whole sentences put in. Much might be said of this, but in my other discourse I shall enlarge.

And what they mean by a free general council, we may read in the council of Trent, whose simony and cheats outdo all precedents.—Besides, these men little dream of one Turrecremata, that in so many words tells us, 'The POPE is the foundation, rule, and principle of FAITH:' (which is God's gift) 'for to him it belongs,' says that doctor, 'to be the measure, rule, and science of things that are to be believed, and of things which are necessary to be believed unto life eternal.' *Turrecrem. lib. 2. cap. 107.* This is the sting. Consider the pope's interest; and what that is, such will be his impositions: horrible slavery, and most unpardonable idolatry! For as he can make a new creed, or symbol of faith, so he can multiply new articles one upon another, says, Aug. *Triumphus extravag. de Urb. Qu. 59. Art. 2. Salmeron Prolog. in com. in Epist. ad Rom. part 3. p. 176.*

II. Of the Blessed TRINITY : of Prayer to SAINTS and ANGELS.

Papist. ‘ **W** E humbly believe the sacred mystery of the Blessed Trinity, One Eternal Almighty and Incomprehensible God, whom only we adore and worship, as alone having sovereign dominion over all things; to whom we acknowledge, as due from men and angels, all glory, and service, and obedience; abhorring from our hearts (as a most detestable sacrilege) to give our Creator’s honour to any creature whatsoever.’

Ans^r. These fine words look newly stamped out of the Jesuits mint. Were they as plain, as they are filled with equivocation, the Romanist would deceive us all in our opinion of him, concerning the point in controversy. Observe his cunning.

His words of the Trinity are modest, neither highly **ATHANASIAN**, nor yet **SOCINIAN**, as some phrase it, but calculated to both meridians. Yet how men can own God, and deny the express rules of his Spirit, as most precisely mentioned in the scriptures of truth, is to me a paradox. But how much the progenitors of the Romanists have been injurious to the Christian faith, by their multiplied obscure phrases about the **TRINITY**, is not unknown to some.

He thinks to clear himself of *imagery*, but plainly catches himself in his own reservations. What honour does he give to God? ‘That which is due to him, as having sovereign dominion over all things.’ He does not say that none is due to saints or angels. ‘They abhor to give their Creator’s honour to any creature;’ but do they deny to give any divine honour to images, or the representations of saints and angels? Of this they are silent, but we know they do it.

Papist.

Papist. ' And therefore we solemnly protest, that
' by the prayers we address to angels and saints, we
' intend no other than humbly to solicit their assist-
' ance before the throne of grace: not that we hope
' any thing from them as *original authors*, but from
' God through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and
' Redeemer.'

Ans. It were endless to bring the contradictions of
their own authors, to the sense these words seem to
import; and yet they are so laid as to admit of various
constructions; an art they are greatly masters of.

First, What ground have they to believe that such
solicitations have such effects? The scriptures are silent
in the case; nor was it the practice of several ages
after that of the apostles. So that it is neither war-
rantable by the scripture, nor the most unspotted tra-
dition.

Nor do we say, that the Papists ever held those ima-
ges to have any virtue simply from within themselves,
but that God was the original author: yet their own
words imply, they may be *mediate* authors of benefit
to us.

And what is it but to contradict themselves, to say,
' They own but one Mediator, Christ Jesus;' and yet
to allow a mediating power to saints and angels, at
the throne of grace? If people will be phrased out
of their religion, they may. But such deserve to be
Papists, who have so mean an opinion of their own
understandings, as to embrace these crossing confessions
for sincere articles of faith.

The sense of ANTIQUITY.

Images of old were not admitted to be in churches
(so called); Simon Magus being their most notorious
founder, and by whose example they were first reve-
renced. The Gnosticks, and Carpocratians, are
charged with this Popish veneration, as hereticks, in
Theodoret, lib. 1. August. Heret. Fabul.—Irenæus de
Heres.

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Hæref. lib. 1. cap. 23. ‘It is forbidden to us to use
‘that deceitful art,’ said Clemens Alexandrinus, more
than 1300 years ago, *lib. 6. Strom.* The pictures of
what was worshipped were prohibited to be painted
on the walls, or that there should be any images in
churches (so called.) Thus in the council of Eliberis,
*Placuit picturas in ecclesiâ esse non debere; ne quod colitur,
aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur;* Con. 36. So
August. de Morib. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 24.

III. Of Justification of MERITS.

Papist. ‘**W**E firmly believe that no force of na-
‘ture, nor dignity of our best works,
‘can merit justification; but we are justified freely
‘by grace, through the redemption that is in Christ
‘Jesus.’

Answ. The Roman catholick is so far from firmly
believing what he says, that upon his own avowed
principles he believes nothing firmly. Can any sober
person think, that to be justified for the sake of works,
is to be justified by grace? If so, contradictions are
most reconcileable, and darkness may not unaptly be
termed light. This is the very case that Paul of old
frenuously argued against the *meritorians* of his time,
“If of grace, then not of works; if of works, then
“not of grace.”

It is to mock the world to say, ‘That Romanists
‘expect to be justified by grace,’ who have for
ages impleaded that doctrine, as dangerous and here-
tical. Bellarmine, in his discourse of this point, is
most plain, and more modern authors follow his steps.
But they say,

Papist. ‘All other merits (according to our sense
‘of that word) signify no more than actions done by
‘the assistance of God’s grace, to which he has pro-
‘mised a reward.—Thus we believe the merit or re-
‘wardableness

‘wardableness of holy living (both which signify the same with us) arises not from the self-value even of our best actions, as they are ours, but from the grace and bounty of God.’

Answ. Methinks these men are run to a narrow strait, who venture to reconcile *merits* and *grace*: they cannot wholly be divorced from *merits*, and yet would they fain espouse *grace*; and by seeking to wed both, they do not a little manifest their own palliated designs: for either they must confess themselves, and all their ancestors most ignorant persons, that they could never find any distinction betwixt merit and grace before; or else they would retain the force of their meritorious opinions, under their more general concession of God’s grace: a way of evading, they are not a little skilled at.

Nor is there less difference betwixt *merit* and *rewardableness*, as they phrase it, than betwixt the middle and the end. Grace and merit, as stated by Calvinists and Papists, are taken for “faith without works,” and “works without faith;” like the two poles: doctrines the most opposite. Now *rewardableness* is neither; but something in the middle; and indeed the most true: for *grace* is a *free gift*, requiring nothing: *merit* is a work proportioned to the *wages*: *rewardableness* is a work without which God will not bestow his favour, and yet not the meritorious cause; for that there is no proportion betwixt the work, that is finite and temporary; and the reward, which is infinite and eternal: in which sense both the creature obeys the commands of God, and does not *merit*, but *obtain* only, and God *rewards* the creature, and yet so as that he *gives* too. But the Papists are very far from this medium; and their shuffling this doctrine of merit betwixt *grace* and *rewardableness*, only shews how unwilling they are to venture it in the plain field, and not that any thing of resemblance is betwixt it and them, they being of three distinct natures and significations.

Besides,

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Besides, it is wretched to think by what ways the abused Romanists fancy to merit justification; not by keeping the moral law (as we shall shew anon); not by fulfilling the evangelical precepts; but by their vain repetitions 'of their Ave Maria's, beads, fasts, ' feasts, holy days, adoration of images, frequenting ' of masses, praying to the *dead*; invoking the Virgin ' Mary for her intercession; signing themselves with ' the cross; abstaining from flesh, and priests from ' marriage; by perpetrating some notorious fact for ' the good of their church, whether by killing a ' prince, or blowing up a state.' These, and the like practices (strange and exotic to the primitive and Christian faith and worship) are the grand motives to justification; and sometimes they have gone so high, as to deserve a canonizing at Rome itself. Thus briefly have I given an account of their merits of justification.

IV. Of the HOLY EUCHARIST.

Papist. ' **I**N the holy eucharist, or most venerable ' sacrament of the body and blood of our ' Lord; we acknowledge that there are, as in all ' other sacraments, two things: the visible sign, ' which is the forms of bread and wine, to which no ' Catholic may, or doth, direct his worship. There ' is also invisible grace signified, the body of our ' Lord; whom, being present, we worship with all ' possible reverence for so great a blessing, warranted ' herein by our Blessed Lord himself in two of the ' gospels.'

Ans. Above all other instances, this is the most pregnant for defence of our assertion; namely, That either these men have relinquished their old doctrine, or else they go about to put the trick upon us. We hear no word at all of *transubstantiation* herein, the most sacred of their mysterious absurdities, but what we

we are at great pains to observe and collect. Perhaps they are ashamed of it, and willing it should pass under some more general phrase, and less offensive. However, by that expression of the 'body of our Lord,' 'whom being present, we adore,' we guess their meaning; but how incoherent with their own words, as well as reason, may easily appear.

First, They acknowledge that it is a *sacrament*, or sign. If so, it is impossible that it should be, at the same time, both the *sign*, and the *thing signified*: for if the very body of Christ be present **CORPORALLY**, (as they use to assert) it cannot be *sacramentally* so, but really and corporally there; which is destructive of the *nature* of a *sacrament*, which is but the *representative*, or *image*, of something mystical, thereby resembled and signified.

Secondly, If this doctrine were true, their **LORD** would be made by their *priest*: for till he says the words, there is no real presence: and so the *creature* (and sometimes a sad one too) makes his **CREATOR**! Which is nothing short of wretched blasphemy.

Thirdly, The Lord they adore and reverence, they **EAT**; and He that made heaven and earth, is comprehended of the *creature*.

Fourthly, I know but of **ONE** gospel, perhaps they know of two, because they seem to own principles so contrary to the true one; but let that other be accursed! If they would have us understand by their expression, two of the *evangelists*, then it is not unlikely but we may ken their meaning; and what they refer to must be Christ's benediction of the bread and wine, and the giving them both to his disciples, saying, "Take, this is my body;" and "take, this is "my blood." But what then? Can any think that Christ gave his body *with* his *body*? That it was the *giver* and the *gift*? That it was the body *blessing*, and the body *blest*? Did the same body *hold* the same body in its own *fingers*? And was it *eaten* by the disciples, and yet *without them*? And was it *no bigger* than a *small piece of bread*, and yet of the proportion of a *man*?

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And was it *insensible*, and *broken* with their *mouths*, and yet *whole* and *sensible* out of them; and all at the *same instant of time*?

Lastly, Could *every one* of the twelve *eat* the VERY WHOLE BODY, and yet that VERY BODY be *visible* with them? And all this while *one* and the *same* body? But methinks I hear echoing from some popish zealot, no small anathema, for offering to affront so sacred a mystery with so many carnal cavils, and vain interrogatories!

To whom I shall answer once for all, in this point, that I stand amazed, how any man of sense can be a Papist; when the only demonstration of his religion, must be his not understanding it.

Many fond absurdities unmentioned (for brevity) might have been observed: for 'REASON never triumphed more over any opinion, than this senseless 'one of transubstantiation;' which may be one very good argument why so much persecution has ever attended the disbelief of it.

The sense of antiquity, and their own authors.

Antiquity knows it not. For eight hundred years after Christ it was never heard of; and when started, with great disgusts entertained.

The council of Lateran was the first that undertook to impose it: and the decrees, as to this point, were wholly abortive; for they are not to be found as *conciliary*. This was above twelve hundred years after Christ.

Tertullian against Marcion, *lib. 4. cap. 40.* Just. Mart. against Tryphon the Jew. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat. 2. in Pasch.* and Pope Gelasius himself renounced and disclaimed it, attributing only to it, 'The nature 'of a bare figure, as retaining the substance and nature of bread and wine.' And many of their doctors, Scotus, Bellarmine, Biel, &c. assure us of its novelty.

But

But how far are such from the spirituality of the mystery and knowledge of the true heavenly bread and wine that descended from above, (the anti-type) who ignorantly affirm the certainty of such a transubstantiation, as renders that very visible elementary bread and wine, at the same time, the very invisible, spiritual, and glorified body of Christ? By which they make him a glorified, *crucified*, visible, *invisible*, spiritual, *elementary* Christ, all at the same time! But more of this in my larger tract.

V. Of COMMUNION in One Kind.

Papist. ‘ **W**E humbly confess, that from the beginning of Christianity, the holy communion was administered frequently in both, and sometimes in each kind, according to several circumstances.’

Ans. We may know him to be a Papist, by his frequent confessions: and methinks it should not only prevent people from being seduced by them, but reduce those of their own way to an utter abhorrence of so much allowed apostacy.

How many times has he confessed this, that, and the other thing, not to be of primitive practice and institution? If the ancient Christians did commune in both kinds, upon what better reasons or motives was it so severely prohibited by Romanists? Is the blood of less virtue than the body? Even that which the scripture frequently commemorates after this manner, “The blood of cleansing; and saved by faith in his blood.” But they proceed farther, and say,

Papist. ‘ Hence the holy church, following the piety of Christians, who insensibly became accustomed to receive it almost universally in one kind, upon great motives did afterwards ordain to have it

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‘ in one, as now administered; though the receiving
‘ of it so is not matter of faith.’

Answ. Three things are very observable from this part of their confession.

1. ‘ That because it was sometimes received in one
‘ kind according to circumstances, it insensibly be-
‘ came received by holy church but in one kind.’ More nonsense and falshood could not well be in so many words. [Nonsense], For what consequence can the latter words be to the former? If in *each* kind, then not any one more than the other: or why not blood, and not bread; as well as bread, and not blood? But among the Papists, the people only partake of the wafer. [Falshood], For they neither have, nor can they give one instance of that slippery or heedless way of receiving it, as in *each* kind; but whenever it was taken, for three hundred years together, it was in *both* kinds.

And what were those circumstances, that we can hear of none of them? Horrible cheats, and idle impostures, to delude the unlearned and unstable! Nor is it less impudence for them to say, ‘ That the
‘ church received it but in one kind upon any such
‘ score.’ The conclusion can never be right, where the premises are false.

2. ‘ That upon great motives, it was afterwards or-
‘ dained to be received but in one kind:’ which great motives they keep to themselves. Either they must think us such fools as to credit them hand over head, and so needed not to mention them; or else, they doubting their great motive to be downright dissuatives with all sober and intelligent people, chose rather to be silent, than more particular.

3. ‘ That the so receiving it is no matter of faith;’ which is so notorious an untruth, as their own *annals* expressly tell us, that Boniface the 8th, and John the 22d, (if I mistake not; for I was, when I met the pamphlet, destitute of such books) highly contradicted
one

one another: one threatening the priests to turn them out, if they did not administer it in *both* kinds; and the other, to excommunicate them, if not burn them, in case they *did*. Which as it shews the eagerness of the popes, so there is a choice piece of *infallibility* to be observed: ‘two *infallible* popes accusing each other of gross *fallibility*.’

Papist. ‘Neither do we believe religious communicants are hereby bereaved of any benefit in obeying the church’s order; since our belief instructs us, that our Blessed Lord is equally present in one kind, as in both.’

Ans. To say that religious communicants are not bereaved of any benefit by receiving it in one kind, would imply, that irreligious communicants, the receivers of *both* kinds, have the advantage. If so, methinks it is natural to believe, that religious communicants, in both kinds, have the most benefit. But what church is it that gives those orders? ‘A free general council of Christians, where men may speak without being in danger of their lives?’ No, but a cabal of persons, picked, with a *probatum est* stamped upon them, out of the pope’s closet, or conclave of cardinals, before they be admitted into the assembly of judges; as most of the council of Trent notoriously were (often cited by the author of this pamphlet). So that in plain terms, ‘The church is what the pope and his cardinals will have it:’ to whose interest most councils have sacrificed their privileges, and thereby brought universal bondage upon whole kingdoms and states.

That belief which instructs them, ‘That Christ is *equally* present, and therefore no need of receiving in *both* kinds,’ must needs be built upon the sandy foundation of papal tradition; not that of scripture, reason, or antiquity. For if that very specifical and numerical virtue which is in the bread, be in the wine,

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then Christ is implicitly charged, by the Romanists, of an unnecessary matter. But if there be some virtue signified by the wine, more than by the *bread*, 'It is
' horrid sacrilege to rob the *sign*, much more the *thing*
' *signified*. It is a *supper*; and at supper there should
' be *to drink*, as well as *to eat*. There can be no body
' without blood; and the *drinking* of his *blood* shews
' a *shedding* of his blood for the world, and a *partici-*
' *pation* of it.'

Besides, the sign is incomplete; and the end of that sacrament or sign not fully answered, but plainly maimed; and what God hath put together, they have put asunder. So that the falseness and unscriptural practice of these men are very manifest.

The sense of antiquity, and their own authors.

Of their dismembering this sign or figure, their own council of Constance is very plain, 'That whereas
' some presume to affirm, that Christian people ought
' to receive the sacrament of the eucharist under both
' kinds of bread and wine,' &c.

(Hence the council decrees against this error):
' And that though Christ did so administer it, and
' although in the primitive church it was received,'
(confessions very large of the author, and example)
' we command, under excommunication, that no
' priest communicate to the people under both kinds
' of bread and wine.' C. C. Sess. 13. So says Aquin.
Com. in 6 John, lect. 7.

And said pope Gelasius, 'Let them receive in both
' kinds, or neither.' Thus popes against councils,
and doctor against doctor: yet will the foolish Roman-
ists (to say no more) vaunt of the unity and infalli-
bility of both.

VI. Of the SACRIFICE of the ALTAR.

Papist. ‘**T**HE holy sacrifice indeed of the altar, we clearly believe ought to be celebrated in both kinds, as now it is, according to the divine institution, as being done in commemoration of the Lord’s blessed passion on the cross, wherein the body and blood were separated.’

Answ. Whether it be fair for the Papists to sacrifice at the altar in both kinds, and refer to Christ’s words, Luke xxi. 9. as a divine institution, and yet deny both kinds to the people, as no matter of faith, or of eminent regard; let the sober judge. Is the passage of divine institution for the sacrifice, and not for the sacrament? But it plainly manifests the exorbitant power they ascribe to their church above the scriptures; since with them an order of her’s may, and ought, to break what themselves call a divine institution.

Papist. ‘Whatsoever, therefore, propitiatory power our holy religion attributes to this commemorative sacrifice; it is by virtue of the sacrifice of the cross, as being by this applied to us: so that we still humbly acknowledge the ground of our salvation to be derived from our Lord’s blessed passion.’

Answ. Their affront to God, and juggle with men, in this very matter, are most detestable! For notwithstanding the scriptures expressly tell us, that we have an High Priest that “needs not sacrifice once a year,” but “who hath offered One sacrifice; and that, “by the will of God we are sanctified through the “offering of the body of Jesus Christ ONCE for all; “and that by ONE offering he perfected them that “are sanctified,” Heb. x. 10, 11, 14; yet do they daily sacrifice him afresh, as if his first were insufficient, or their daily sins required a new one. But

what man, endued with the least share of common sense, can be so stupid as to imagine, 'that Christ is 'sacrificed by every popish priest, when he offers up 'a *bloodless fleshless wafer*?' What greater irreverence can be shewn to the bitter passion of the Lord Jesus Christ? Making such a may-game of his most dreadful agony and cruel death, as the Jews did with a crucified child!

This is so much worse than the *Aaronical* priesthood, as that was before Christ, and so typical of his coming, and of divine authority; and this after his coming; whose own words and the apostle's (whom these men pretend to faint, and own) bear record, "That *ONCE* for all, and by *ONE* offering of himself," &c. And consequently void of all commission, as well as precedent.

The cheat they put upon men is plainly this, That whilst with fine words they seem originally to ground their salvation upon Christ's sacrifice of the cross, they craftily attribute to their daily sacrifice of him, 'no 'small share of merit, as so many mediate and secondary causes;' which must needs be obvious to every unbiassed reader. Their curious epithets seem only to serve the place of so many covers for the malignity of their sophistical doctrines.

VII. Of PRAYER in Latin.

Papist. 'WE freely acknowledge that it is no ways 'commanded by the church, that the 'people should pray in a language they understand 'not.'

Answ. I perceive the man is still upon his free acknowledgments. Certainly if what he so often confesses not to have been the practice of the primitive church, and to be unwarrantable from her example, 'were

were but abstracted, there would remain a very abrupt and narrow faith for the Romanists to explain.

But he is too equivocal upon the word *church*. If by it he would have us understand the *ancient Christian church*, it is true, that no prayers were made in an unknown tongue; for the scriptures, of divine authority with her, expressly condemn it, as irregular, and unprofitable.

“Let such keep silent,” said the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 28. and Peter never contradicted him. But if by the church he understands the Roman, he is either careless of his own reputation (that whilst he makes the moral law the ninth head of his confession, commits so great an error against it, as to obtrude a lie) or else he trusts to our ignorance of her present practice; for that she is guilty in this particular, and the point defended too, I recommend the reader to the following authorities.

Papist. ‘Nay, there is given them all possible encouragement to increase their devotions, by ordaining and publishing most excellent prayers in vulgar languages for their use. There is an express command of our holy mother the church, in the council of Trent, that pastors, in the time of divine service, should expound to the people’s capacities,’ &c.

Answ. I shall return my answer in these four particulars.

First, That all possible encouragement is not given where more may: but that more may, view SPAIN, FRANCE, and ITALY, where prayers are in Latin, unknown to many millions of souls. And let us remark it, for a more infallible truth than any the pope’s chair can afford us, That the great depth of the policy and security of that religion, lies in the ignorance and stupidity of the people.

Secondly, No thanks to the Romanists, that the people have any where so much privilege, at any time
to

to understand what they say: for this is only owing to the light of Reformation; for that having given a discovery of the gross darkness of popish practices, they were necessitated to move somewhat from their ancient customs; which is no better than a lame excuse made by a thief caught in the fact. Had there been no Luther in Germany, nor Zwinglius in Switzerland, we could not expect, nor ever believe, that the council of Trent would have allowed of that liberty; when to cloud the people, and to lock up their understandings in the pope's arcanum, is the Dianian project of his conclave.

It is worth our observation, that those very books of devotion are never doctrinal, I mean explanatory of their principles (those they hide); but filled with elegant phrases, and rare cuts of imagery, suited to the affectionate passions and voluntary humilities of a sort of people, whose judgment goes always in the rear of their affections, and that make their religion of shews and compliments.

Fourthly, But I deny that they have the nature of prayer in them; and therefore the people are almost as much to seek in their own language, as a strange one. "Prayer is the gift of God:" no man can be said to pray, who has not, first, a deep sense of his own wants: second, of the reasonableness of the thing prayed for: third, enough of faith to obtain; fourth, a due reverence of that God to whom he makes his supplication; "for the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord," says the divine writ (or are no prayers at all, in a religious sense). But if these books of devotion were prayers, then might the wicked as well pray as the righteous; for the prayer is equally exposed to the use of both. It is not words that make the prayer; wherefore said the apostle, "I will pray with the spirit," (there is the most essential part of prayer; but this he might do with none but himself;) "and I will pray with understanding also:" (by this he meant, not in an unknown tongue): it was the subject of his discourse in his fourteenth chapter

in his first epistle to the Corinthians. But the church of Rome has otherwise learnt, than had that good apostle.

In short, we need the less wonder at the unparalleled villainy which reigns throughout the papacy, when we consider how cardinal a practice it is for the people not to understand how to be better. Their late profelytes forgot, or else never heard, how criminal it was to have an English Testament about one hundred and fifty years since. But rather than not, the Papists will turn half protestants, to fetch back Protestants to be whole Papists again. But such might deserve to be begged, had they but as much of religion, as sometimes fools use to have of estate. What shall I say? They are fit to believe any thing, whose debaucheries have hardened them against any belief: when sin has banished all fear of God, interest steps in its place; and that religion which most promotes it, must with such be the best; wherein the Papist has only the advantage of all others upon earth.

The report of antiquity and their own practice.

However in Protestant countries they are willing to bring their devotion into vulgar languages; yet that it is matter of necessity, and not of choice, view Italy, France, Spain, &c. where they retain their Latin service, as beneficial to the people; which is a language that generally they understand not.

Origen was against it, *lib. 8. cont. Cels.* So Chrysost. *Hom. 1. in 8 Joban. August. de doct. Christi, cap. 5. Ambrose upon 1 Cor. xiv.* Thus also their own doctors; *Aquin. in 1 Cor. xiv. Cassander, Liturg. cap. 18.* So that they err from scripture, fathers, and their own doctors.

VIII. Of PRAYER for the DEAD.

Papist. ' OUR faith teaches us to exercise Christian charity, by humbling ourselves before the divine throne of God's mercy, to beg forgiveness of the debts and trespasses of those middle sort of Christians (as St. Austin and the council of Florence call them) who had not brought forth sufficient fruits of repentance, dying in the communion of the faithful: which indigent condition of theirs, relievable by the churches, or the prayers of the faithful surviving, speaks what the ancients call purgatory.'

Ans. How much the Romish faith teaches the holders of it to exercise Christian charity, the MARTYROLOGIES of these thousand years may testify. But they would have you know, they do not intend such persons as were active in those bloody massacres: for the single merit of their horrid murders is supererogatory, or more than sufficient to deliver them from the fiery furnace of a cleansing purgatory. They took a shorter cut to heaven; for instead of travelling the main continent, they (blown with the fresh gale of their own cruelty) sailed through the main sea of Protestant blood.

But what authorities have these men for their assertion? First, St. Austin; and secondly, the council of Florence. To these I will speak in the close of this head. Are these all? No, for says he:

Papist. ' We are warranted herein by the practice under the law, recorded in the *Maccabees*; which being in no sort reprehended by our Lord, or his apostles, amongst the rest of the Jews unlawful practices, was and is justly presumed to have been allowed by him, as many of the fathers understood him in the mount: and by them, as is hinted by St. Paul: whereupon it hath been continued ever since,

ce, as even grave-stones, and all other Christian monuments, do witness.'

answ. I must confess I do not wonder that so little should induce a Romanist to believe; than he, nothing scares him more. But I cannot other-
than admire, that any Protestant should make such instances a ground of his return to popery.

first, His story of the Maccabees is not cited; nor he very plainly refer us.

secondly, He knows the Protestants deny it the cre-
due to other scriptures; and the Papists cannot but be
conscious to themselves of insufficiency to prove its
truth.

thirdly, It is preposterously silly to say, that be-
cause Christ did not particularly condemn 'the prac-
tice of praying for the dead,' (suggested to have
been used by the Maccabees) therefore it was a lauda-
ble custom: since I may with equal reason argue, that
because Christ never mentioned the Maccabees, nor
particularly own the canon of their writings,
therefore there was no such people; and their writ-
ings (if any) of no authority.'

fourthly, The fathers sense (if theirs) of these
scriptures, Mat. v. 29. 1 Cor. xv. 29. must needs be
sense in the abstract, with all but Papists, who no-
toriously deny themselves the use of sense: although
of opinion, the fathers are much abused by the
force of this confession, or else we should have had
names in capitals. However, we will compare
passages with this opinion.

first, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out,
and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee,
that one of thy members should perish, and not
that thy whole body should be cast into hell fire."

v. 29. *Ergo* what? 'That there is a purgatory
in this life,' says the Romanist. O! stupendous
and weakness! Is there any thing plainer, than
Christ preached a present practical doctrine? as
that

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that which stood every man upon in this world; viz. the denial of his lusts, and circumcision of his corruptions. In short, since Christ was in the world when he spake it; since it was to people in the world, and a work then to be set about; it is most evident the passage has no relation to a state after this life (I mean for purgation). Nay, - the strongest argument that is well conceivable for the contrary, may easily be deduced from hence: for if such as pluck not out their right eyes here, (that is, purge not themselves of their iniquities, by unfeigned repentance) shall be cast into hell fire; then there is no middle state called purgatory. But that such persons as pluck not out their right eyes (that is, mortify not their members of corruption) here, are to be cast into hell fire, the text proves: therefore there is no middle state. The contrary, of heaven, may be affirmed; for *contrariorum eadem est ratio*.

Secondly, "Else, what shall they do that are baptized for the dead? If the dead rise not at all; why are they then baptized for the dead?" 1 Cor. xv. 29.

This scripture is as much to the purpose as the former; and were I not used so frequently to meet with the like incoherences, it would amaze me to read such disjoined matter, and unnatural consequences; things in their own nature so remote and opposite. What relation has the *resurrection* to the soul's entering purgatory, or that popish middle state? Who are they that are baptized? And who those for whom they were baptized? And how have either any relation to prayers for the dead, and souls in purgatory? But the Romanist thinks, however, that God is not offended at this charitable practice: hear what he says.

Papist. 'Neither can we discern how possibly this may be conceived offensive to God; whose justice herein, we hope, we do humbly appease, by an exercise of brotherly compassion.'

Ans.

Answ. It is no wonder at all that blind men do not see; and such as error has hoodwinked for generations, we cannot think should discern truth, till they dare trust their *eyes*, *ears*, and *understandings*, to answer the end for which God gave them.

There can be nothing conceived more offensive to God, as well as unreasonable with men, than that a mortal creature (indebted *himself* more than ever he can *discharge*) should be able to appease the displeased justice of an infinite God! The arrogance of this saying only fits the size and measure of a meritorious Papist. But the man, fearing this retort, would anticipate its force by an half confession and solution thus:

Papist. 'There is no law of God which assures us, 'in rigour of justice, of God's acceptance of the acts 'of another man for my sins: yet this hinders not but 'that they may prevail, by way of *suffrage* and *impetration*, for our pardon.'

Answ. If he could have given but one place of scripture, it would have helped the matter: but we take leave to say, we will not be wise (in this case) above what is written, and *quod non lego, non credo*. I shall return this short answer to this evasion. It is a poor shift from the force of the objection; for not only in the strictest, but largest sense too, God ONLY, out of his free gift and mercy in Christ Jesus, is Author of our remission and forgiveness. Since there can scarcely be a more absurd position, than that a man, unable to relieve himself, should be the occasion of relief to others in the same condition, whether by appealing divine justice, or by *suffrage* only; a word incongruous, and inapplicable in this place.

Besides, what need is there for praying for souls in purgatory? That they should be *saved*? That is held for granted before they go thither. Is it that they should be *delivered* thence? That is the consequence of the opinion. Or would they, that God should forbear
his

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his hand, and mitigate his rigour? (Which seems the most natural consequence of their opinion). If so, they are the greatest enemies: for their holding that the end of the chastisements of purgatory is to prepare them for heaven; by how much the less they are chastised by those fiery afflictions, by so much the less they are purged, and consequently the more unfit for heaven. So that since heaven is soonest attainable, as their souls come to be the soonest and most effectually purged, they in charity ought to pray, that God would mend his fire, add fuel to his flames, and double his fiery tortures, that they may be the sooner purged, and more refined for heaven.

Thus, while the Romanists are arguing for purgatory, they confute themselves by not understanding it.

I shall conclude my sense of this point, with the authority of scripture, reason, and antiquity.

First, "Then shall the dust return to the earth, as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it." Ecclef. xii. 7. Gen. iii. 9. (then not to purgatory.)

Secondly, "For there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest." Ecclef. ix. 10. (then none in purgatory.)

Thirdly, "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus receive my spirit." Acts vii. 59. (no purgatory still, but a certain immutable state.)

That it is against all Reason, I offer these considerations.

1st. No man can merit for another: nor is it possible a poor indebted man should pay another's debt (it may be greater than his own) and not be able to pay *his own*.

2. The repentance ought to be where the sin is. But the sin is *here*; therefore should the repentance be *here also*.

3. Where there is a cessation from sinning, there is a cessation from repentance. But there *is* a cessation from

from sinning; therefore is there a cessation from repentance.

4th. Whatever attends the soul, after separation from this mortal life, is immortal and eternal: this none can deny. But purgatory is a state that attends the soul after this mortal life; and therefore, say I, it is an immortal and eternal state. And if it be, it is either for *something*, or *nothing*. If for *nothing*, God makes things in vain: if for the souls of men and women; then they are never to be ransomed thence. But since the Romanists hold a redemption from thence, their confession of the temporariness of that state proves it a mere fiction: for when the soul is withdrawn from this visible mortal life, which stands in time, it is centered in an invisible and immortal state, beyond the wings and reach of time.

In short, this world is the stage on which all men do act for eternity; and every venture of theirs brings its true weight of eternal life or death. Death is the consummation of all; and when we cease to work, we enter upon reward. But if purgatory were in being, the greatest work were to be done there: which, because it is absurd to affirm, we conclude, that after death we cease from all our labours, and enter upon our recompence of everlasting happiness or misery.

I shall subjoin some authorities from antiquity.

The sense of antiquity, and their own authors.

The doctrine of praying for the dead, we know, was too old a practice; yet not so old as the apostle. But how? As for souls in a *third* place (for that these Romanists mean by their purgatory, however modest they seem by their half-expressions)? Nothing less! however the superstition of the Papists has driven them into so foul an apprehension: but the ancients, believing there would be a general day of judgment, prayed that God would shew such mercy in that day. Gregory the first is said to be its father. Certain we are, that superstition was both its mother and its nurse: for

that this fond purgatorian opinion is altogether new, read both their own authors and the Fathers. Polyd. cap. 1. *De inven. rerum*. Alphons. a Castro, lib. 8. *verb. indul.* lib. 12. *lib. Purgat.* So Sextus Senensis, Medina, Cassander, and Bellarmine himself.

That the fathers disowned it, in the sense asserted by the Romanists, and particularly their great saint Austin, let them peruse these places, Just. Martyr. *resp. ad quest.* 75. Cyprian. *ad Demetrian.* sect. 16. 22. and in *serm. de lapsis*. Greg. Nazian. *orat.* 15. in *plag. grandinis*. August. *Enchirid.* cap. 68, 69. Again, *de Dogmat. Eccles.* 6. cap. 79. But, above all, that the Romanists should *pray* for those, to whom they pray to *intercede* for them, is most absurd! yet this is frequent. But for this time enough.

IX. Of the MORAL LAW: Of Obedience to CIVIL MAGISTRATES.

Papist. ‘**W**E farther do firmly believe, and highly reverence the moral law, being so solemnly delivered to Moses upon the mount, so expressly confirmed by our Saviour in the gospel, and containing in itself so perfect an abridgment of our whole duty both to God and man.’

Ans. We may take his belief to be as hearty, as his confessions are sincere. I know not what to say more truly, than that his whole discourse is an irony: we are to measure it by contraries, especially when the fruits give the tree the lie.

How far the Roman Catholicks reverence the moral law, is best seen by considering how many laws they have made to destroy it.

1. That of *images*. For though God did expressly enjoin Moses, ‘That the Israelites should not make to themselves the likeness of any thing in heaven or in earth,’ (whence the primitive Christians abhorred painture) or, when they had so done, that ‘they should
‘ not

'not bow down unto it;' yet how many edicts are there in being, that require them to be set up in their churches, as laymens calendars, to whom daily homage is performed? They are the splendid ensigns of the Popish Pageantry religion.

2. In not only dispensing with disobedience in children, but in exciting them to it, if they apprehend some service to their church, be it to make a friar, &c.

3. In those frequent bulls for massacres, that can no more be denied than light at noon-day; by which people have been stirred up, upon the promise of forgiveness of sins, redemption from purgatory, and eternal salvation, or dreadful denunciation of eternal damnation, to enterprize that work of murdering many hundred thousands of men, women, and children, without any legal presentment, trial or conviction. But the consideration of these things is too much out of fashion in England; since many embrace them upon their present disguises, and not in their true sanguinary appearances.

4. The breach of the moral law is signally manifest in their dispensations of publick stews, especially at Rome; where the Pope's revenue is not a little greatened by those ungodly licences. And it is too fatally known, that by such immoral courses, they have crept into the most cabinet counsels of princes; and not only rendered themselves masters of their secrets, but insinuated their projects by the force of effeminate temptations; which, if denied, might easily be proved in the case of Henry the Fourth of France, and others.

5. That religion hath proved the greatest thief in nature: its popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, and whole orders of friars, have near engrossed the greatest share of the wealth of Europe, I mean of those countries where yet they are regent. Before Constantine, how mean and meek were Christian ministers! but in his time, and a few ages after, to what a strange degree of exorbitant pride and avarice did the clergy mount, when it could dare entitle Peter's chair to the whole world! kingdoms and em-

pires must be given and taken with a "WE WILL, OR" "WE GRANT," &c.—View those countries; and the universal poverty of them impute to those swarms of locusts and caterpillars, who both corrupt and beggar them. This is a theft, though less sharking, yet more criminal.

6. They notoriously break the moral law, in that great command, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;" which comprehends all truth-speaking. For as no witness is bound to answer, farther than by interrogatories he is provoked; so is it utterly impossible that ever truth should be told, or men sin in lying (whilst one of the greatest sins) if the Romish maxims were but once practised: some of which I shall touch upon in the sequel of this chapter.

As to that part of their confession which may relate to their keeping of promise, and paying subjection to the civil magistrates of what religion soever, and much more to those under whom they live; I purposely overlooked it, because it is well known, that they have been so far from yielding obedience to the magistrates of any religion, that they have not stuck to assassinate those of their own, to whose power they owed their civil and religious protection. And truly, if such double cords of duty cannot tie the hands of men from murdering their natural and religious princes (as Henry the Third and Fourth of France, both kings of their country, and therein of their religion; because a little refractory to the sinister designs of an insolent clergyman or two) I think it needless to give their plainer English of obedience, who so excellently render it in the paraphrase of their life.

I speak not this to incense the powers against them: for it is my real belief, that neither are all of them such, nor would I take the burden off my own shoulder, to lay it on theirs (being a professed abettor of an universal toleration): but this being matter of fact, as they cannot deny it, so should I gladly hear of their confession of these impieties; and that they disown the like practices, not by fine glosses, but an amend-

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amendment of life, and reformation of doctrine; which would really entitle them to that verity they do but hitherto fictitiously attribute to themselves.

The sense and opinion of their own authors.

First, Vasquez teacheth, ‘ That not only an image of God, but any creature in the world, reasonable or unreasonable, may without danger be worshipped with God, as his image. That we ought to adore the reliicks of saints, though under the form of worms.’ *De Adorat, lib. 3. disp. 1. cap. 2.*

Secondly, They teach, ‘ That children may disobey their parents, in being nuns or friars: and this girls may do at twelve, and boys at fourteen years of age.’ But the council of Trent enlarged the parent’s authority to sixteen. This wretched doctrine was taught and decreed by pope Clement the Third. Tho. Aquin. and after him his scholars, taught the same. *Cap. cum virum de regular. Aquin. 2. 2. qu. 88. art. 9. lib. 1. cap. 101.* also in case the parents were hereticks.

Thirdly, ‘ If a nobleman be set upon (says cardinal Tollet) and may escape by going away, he is not obliged to do it; but may kill him that intends to strike him with a stick.’ *Instruct. Sacerd. lib. 5. cap. 6. num. 15.*

Fourthly, ‘ If a man be beastly drunk, and then commits fornication, it is no sin.’ *Lib. 14. cap. 13. n. 4.* Also, ‘ That a man may lie with women, to satisfy his carnal desire, or for his health-sake.’ *Lib. 5. cap. 10, 13.* ‘ A man may bed with his intended wife; nay, it is good to do so if the marriage be deferred;’ says *Emanuel Sa. Aphor. tit. debitum conjugale 6.*

Fifthly, They instruct how to be an honest thief. ‘ It is lawful to deceive or rob a brother, when to do so is necessary to preserve a good name. For no man is bound to restore stolen goods.’ Thus Navar. cardinal Cajetan, and Tolet; who farther add, ‘ That

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‘ this is a doctrine taught by many, and which may
 ‘ be followed with a safe conscience.’ *Tolet. Instruēt. Sacerd. lib. 5. cap. 2. Manual. cap. 18. n. 7.*

Sixthly, How just they may be to their promises, how subject to the supreme magistracy, and of how eminent service to human societies, may best appear out of these following maxims.

‘ If a man swear he will take A. C. to wife, he
 ‘ may secretly mean, *if hereafter she please me.*’ *Instruēt. Sacerd. lib. 4. cap. 21, 22.*

‘ If a man swear he will give a thief twenty crowns,
 ‘ he may secretly say, *if I please to do it*; and then he
 ‘ is not bound.’ Of this rare invention Vasquez vaunts not a little, as being gathered out of *August. and Aquin. In. 3. tom. 4. qu. 93. art. 5. dub. 13.*

‘ There are two distinct tribunals (says Becanus)
 ‘ and the ecclesiastical is the superior: and therefore
 ‘ if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct,
 ‘ he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal; nor,
 ‘ by any security given, hinder the bishop, or the
 ‘ pope, to exercise their jurisdiction.’ *Theol. Schola.*
 That this is so, let us call to mind, that the pope, and other of his ecclesiasticks, did prevail at Constance, for the burning of their prisoners, J. Hufs, &c. to whom safe conduct was given.

In short, ‘ If a man have taken an oath of a thing
 ‘ lawful and honest, and in his power; yet, if it hin-
 ‘ ders him from doing a greater good, the pope can
 ‘ dispense with it.’ Thus Canus, bishop of the Ca-
 naries, *Reliēt. de penitent.*

‘ The pope’s denunciation against an excommuni-
 ‘ cated prince, disengages his subjects from their obe-
 ‘ dience.’ This was once our case, as in Henry the
 Eighth’s time, *Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol. 336.*

Nay, ‘ Even before the sentence be denounced,
 ‘ though the subjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully
 ‘ they may deny obedience to an heretical prince.’
 Thus *Greg. de Valentia, tom. 3. disp. 1. qu. 12. punēt. 2.*

To conclude, the ingenuity of Panormitan and Mos-
 conius outdoes all:

The

The first affirming, 'That the pope hath power to
' dispense in all the laws of God.' *Cap. proposui de*
concess. prebende, n. 20.

The second, with as much zeal asserting, 'That the
' pope can dispense above law, and against law; for
' the pope's tribunal and God's is but one: and there-
' fore every reasonable creature is subject to the pope's
' empire;' as may be seen in his discourse of the
Majesty of the church militant, and in *lib. 1. de*
summa Pontif.

X. Of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

Papist. 'WE firmly believe, that according to
' divine ordination in the catholick
' church, there is an hierarchy, consisting of bishops,
' priests, and ministers. He gave some apostles, and
' some prophets, and others evangelists, and others
' pastors and doctors, to the consummation of the
' saints, unto the work of the ministry, unto the edi-
' fying of the body of Christ, until we all meet in
' the unity of faith, and the knowledge of the Son of
' God, &c.'

It is a great truth, that bishops, pastors, teachers,
&c. were given by Christ Jesus, for the work of the
ministry; but what then? Can Romanists make use of
this to justify their most injurious and tyrannical hier-
archy? Do the scriptures of truth tell us, that ever
God gave lordly, proud, and voluptuous popes, car-
dinals, primates, archbishops, deans, chapters, friars,
nuns, &c. for the edifying of the church, and body
of Christ? The primitive bishops were to be "*blame-*
less;" not living in all manner of uncleanness:
"*gentle,* no strikers, no brawlers, nor persecutors of
"*their brethren,*" as are the popes of Rome: "*apt*
"*to teach;*" not by roaring bulls to excommunicate:
"*to eat and drink such things as were set before*
"*them;*" not racking and grinding the faces of the

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poor, the widows, and the fatherless, and extorting their labours, to greaten their revenues, to live in idleness, pomp, and lust: "the husband but of one wife;" not condemners of marrying of one honest woman, and dispensers with as many whores as lust may require; cardinal and eminent points and practices amongst the Romanists.

In short, the Romish hierarchy is so far from being suited within the order of the gospel, by them quoted in their confession; that the whole design of their lordly popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, and other friars of many sorts, (esteemed of the religious tribe) is but to overbalance the civil power, and render themselves masters of the swords and purses of princes and commonwealths, to maintain them in idleness, plenty, and pleasure; and to blind the understandings of them they abuse, that they may abuse them as the Philistines did Sampson, when they had put out his eyes, to answer their own wicked ends with the greater security.

To conclude, 'If we would not receive a thief, 'until he has repented;' let the Papist first recant his voluminous errors; not known in scripture, nor ever heard of for three hundred years together after Christ.

But above all, 'Let us have good testimony of his 'heartly sorrow, for that sea of blood shed in England, France, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, 'Switzerland, and Germany, of many hundred thousands of poor Protestants, that for pure conscience 'could not conform to their most exorbitant practices, 'as well as new doctrines, imposed upon them!' such inhuman and barbarous inventions and cruelties, as no age could ever parallel; and are the only demonstrations of their wicked wits, that lived in that; and that not only upon the parties themselves, but their poor, little innocent babes: for that ENGLISH PROTESTANTS should so far neglect these weighty considerations, as to be gulled and cheated out of the religion purchased them by their martyred ancestors; and persuaded to embrace that old, bloody, apostatized church

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church again, with all her slavish, as well as ridiculous superstition, is a crime so offensive to God, and intolerable to men, as the time hastens, 'That the very stones in the street will rise up in judgment against them.'

Thus while some Protestants (and those chiefly concerned in these affairs) are mostly busied in persecuting Dissenters; I hope it will not be ill resented, that one of them has, in the mean time, undertook (though with much brevity) an enervation of the Romanists faith, at least a detection of their craft, their horrid cosenage, and present way of insatuation amongst the people.

But we must once more declare, it is not to our purpose to bring them under persecution; but to present the people with such an information, as may prevent them from ever having power to persecute others,

A QUES.

A Questionary POSTSCRIPT.

I Here subjoin these few following queries; which if the Romanists will frankly answer, and with that grave sincerity that becomes so weighty an affair; we may easily know whereabouts they are.

- I. Whether we ought to believe and accept any principle, as fundamentally true and orthodox, that is not laid down, and avouched to be such, by evident scripture, and the most pure and primitive tradition?

If they say, *we ought*, let them tell us out of what scripture we may read it: but if we ought not——
Then,

- II. Whether the doctrine of papal infallibility; of transubstantiation; of the sacrifice of the mass; of images; of auricular confessions; of indulgences; of prayers for the dead; of purgatory; of prayers in Latin; of their whole ecclesiastical government, and pretended religious orders; be allowed or recommended, as matter of Christian faith, and discipline, by scripture and antiquity?

If they are not to be found there, why should any be so absurd as to receive them? If they are taken thence, let them assign us the places, both in scripture and primitive antiquity; for the first three hundred years after Christ (and in some particulars much more) are wholly silent in the matter, any farther than to furnish us with pregnant instances *against* those idle dotages, and gross superstitions. But,

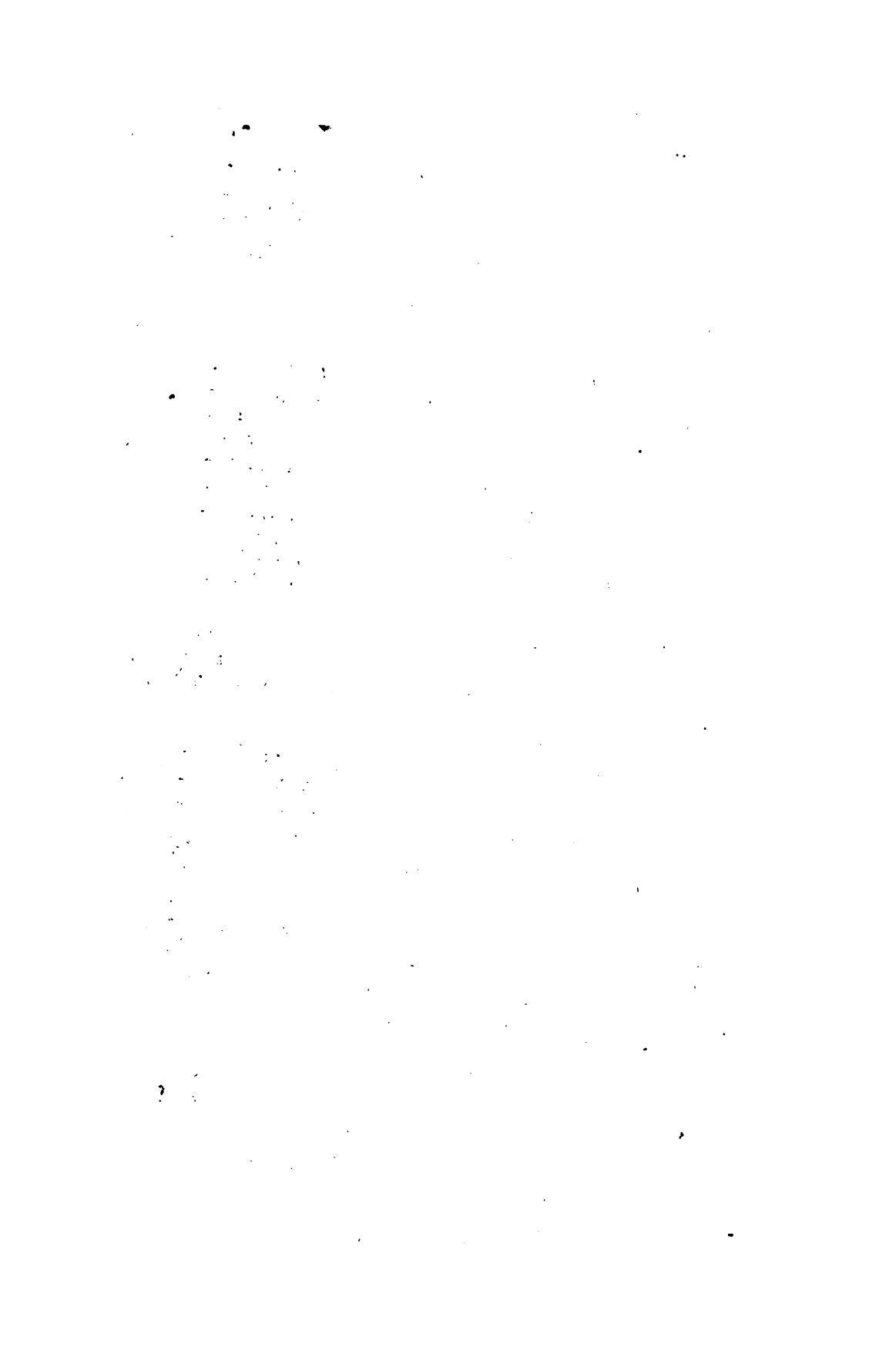
- III. Whether in case they could not be conformed to, they would allow a TOLERATION, were they powerful?

IV. Whe-

IV. Whether in case they should say **Yes**, we ought to believe them? since it is one of their most sacred maxims, 'Not to keep faith with heretics;' as was seen in the case of those of the Alpine vallies, J. Hufs, &c. and in that they have in all ages brought so great a deluge of blood upon the European world.

V. Whether it be the interest of the English nation to subject herself to a yoke? Considering the incomparable bloody massacres of that sort of men in several reigns, with the spiritual tyranny she would bring upon herself, which must end in the draining of her people to enrich the papacy, who make it a fundamental maxim, 'That the enriching of the church (or rather the impoverishing of the people) is the securing of it:' for seculars (the laity) being impoverished, as of old, the church-party will have the treasury, and consequently the triumphing power in their hands; which brings to the ancient arrogance of popes, viz. 'Setting their feet upon the necks of princes.'

VI. And lastly, Whether the design of popery be not an utter destruction of all true and solid religion, and the introduction of formality and superstition, to the inscuring of civil authority, and putting the people's judgment into the priests' Inquisition? Since the most *ignorant* and *careless*, or the most *vicious* and *profane*, are generally found to be their proselytes; their religion (by reason of its latitude in point of **INDULGENCE**) being an open sanctuary for refuge to all loose and debauched livers.



T H E
PROPOSED COMPREHENSION,
SOBERLY, and NOT UNSEASONABLY
C O N S I D E R E D.

Published in the Year 1672.

ALTHOUGH the benefits wherewith Almighty God has universally blessed the whole creation, are a sufficient check to the narrowness of their spirits, who would unreasonably confine all comforts of life within the strait compass of their own party (as if to recede from their apprehensions, whereof themselves deny any infallible assurance, were reason good enough to deprive other Dissenters of nature's inheritance, and, which is more peculiar, England's freedoms); yet since it fares so meanly with those excellent examples, that many vainly think themselves then best to answer the end of their being born into the world, when by a severity, which least of all resembles the God of Love, they rigorously prosecute the extirpation of their brethren; let it not seem unreasonable, or ill-timed, that we offer to your more serious thoughts the great partiality and injustice that seem to be the companions of a comprehension, since you only can be concerned at this time to prevent it, by a more large and generous freedom.

First, then, liberty of conscience (by which we commonly understand the free exercise of any dissenting persuasion) is but what has been generally pleaded for, even by the warmest sticklers for a comprehension, and without which it would be utterly impossible they should be comprehended. The question then will be this, 'What ground can there be, why some, ' and not all, should be tolerated?' It must either respect conscience or government: if it be upon matter of mere religion, what reason is there that one
party

THE DOUBTED COMPREHENSION.

one is tolerated, and another restrained; that may be urged by that party that is not orthodox; that may be urged by that party that is orthodox. Both are every whit as proper to be urged. The former say 'they are not like us; they are the better sort.' If the one urge, the other will also desire believe without a constraint; that understanding cannot be forced; that the true religion needs severity is most unworthy of the Christian religion is the only weapon which can be used; that coercion doth make men stiff; and that they therefore are sincere Dissenters, rather than hypocrites. The other party says the same. In short, there can be nothing said for liberty of conscience upon pure conscientious grounds, by any one in England, that every one may not be interpreted as, unless any will undertake to judge that of four sorts of Dissenters, two are really such on conviction, and three upon mere design. But if such sentence would be looked upon as most arrogant and unjust, how can it be reasonable, that those whom we endeavour to exclude should be thus prejudged; and such as are comprehended, be therefore so only from a strong opinion of their reality? We may conclude then, that since liberty of conscience is what in itself comprehenders plead, and that it is evident, to affirm this, or that, or the other party orthodox, is but a mere begging of the question, what may be urged for one is forcible for any other; conscience (not moveable but upon conviction) being what all pretend themselves alike concerned in.

But they say, 'That such as are like to be comprehended, are persons *not essentially* differing; that it were pity to exclude them whose difference is rather in minute matters, than any thing substantial; whereas you err in fundamentals.' But how paradoxical soever such may please to think it, that we should therefore plead the justice of taking those in, some unkindly would have left out, we know not; however,

we

we believe it most reasonable to do so: for certainly the reason for liberty or toleration should hold proportion with the weighty cause of dissent, and the stress conscience puts upon it. Where matters are trivial, they are more blameable that make them a ground for dissent, than those who perhaps (were that all the difference) would never esteem them worth contending for; much less that they should rend from that church they otherwise confess to, be a true one. So that whoever are condemnable, certainly those who have been authors and promoters of separation upon mere toys and niceties, are not most of all others to be justified. Had they conscientiously offered some fundamental discontent, and pleaded the impossibility of reconciling some doctrines with their reason or conscience, yet promising quiet living, and all due subjection to government, they might have been thus far more excusable, that people would have had reason to have said, Certainly small matters could not have induced these men to this disgraceful separation, nor any thing of this life have tempted them to this so great and troublesome alteration. 'But to take pet at a ceremony, then rend from the church, set up a new name, model and gather people, raise animosity, and only make fit for blows,' by a furious zeal kindled in their heads against a few *ineptiæ*, mere trifles; and, being utterly vanquished from these proceedings, to become most earnest solicitors for a comprehension; though at the same time of hot pursuit after this privilege, to seek nothing more than to prevent others of enjoying the same favour, under the pretence of more fundamental difference; certainly this shews, that had such persons power, they would as well disallow of a comprehension to those who are the assertors of those ceremonies they recede from, as that for mere ceremonies they did at first zealously dissent, and ever since remain more unjustifiably fierce for such separation. And truly, if there were no more in it than this, it would be enough for us to say, that some in England never rent themselves from the church at all,

all, much less for little matters: that they never endeavoured her exile, but she found them upon her return, which they opposed not; nor yet since have any ways sought to install themselves in her dignities, or enrich themselves by her preferments. We appeal then to all sober men, if what is generally called the *episcopal* party of England, can with good conscience and true honour, disinherit those of their native rights, peace, and protection, and leave them as orphans to the wide world, indeed a naked prey to the devourer, who from first to last have never been concerned, either to endeavour their ruin, or any ways withstand their return; whilst it may be some of those, who have been the most vigorous in both, and that for *circumstantial*, and not *essential* differences, may be reputed more deserving of a comprehension than we are of a toleration.

But it will be yet said, 'You are inconsistent with government; they are not: therefore you are excluded, not out of partiality, but necessity.' What government besides their own they are consistent with, we leave on the side of story to tell, which can better speak their mind than we are either able or willing to do. But this give us leave to say in general, if any apprehend us to be such as merit not the care of our superiors, because supposed to be destructive of the government, let us be called forth by name, and hear our charge; and if we are not able to answer the unbiassed reason of mankind, in reference to our consistency with the peace, quiet, trade, and tribute of these kingdoms, then, and not before, deny us all protection. But that men should be concluded before heard, and so sentenced for what they really are not, is like *beheading* them before they are *born*. We do aver, and can make it appear, that there is no one party more quiet, subject, industrious, and, in the bottom of their very souls, greater lovers of the good old English government, and prosperity of these kingdoms among the comprehended, than, for aught we yet see, may be found among those who are like
to

to be unkindly excluded. However, if such we were in any one point, *cure* rather than *kill* us; and seek the publick good some cheaper way than by our *destruction*. Is there no expedient to prevent ruin? Let REASON qualify *zeal*, and CONSCIENCE *opinion*.

To conclude, If the publick may be secured, and conscience freely exercised by all, for the same reasons it may by some. And since liberty of conscience is liberty of conscience, and the reasons for it equivalent, we see not in the whole world why any should be deprived of that, which others for no better reasons are like to enjoy.

Let it not then be unworthy of such to remember, that God affords his refreshing "sun to all;" the dunghill is no more excepted than the most delightful plain; and his "rain falls alike both upon the just "and unjust:" he strips not mankind of what suits their creaturely preservation: *Christians* themselves have no more peculiar privilege in the natural benefits of heaven, than *Turks* or *Indians*. Would it not then be strange, that *Infidels* themselves, much less any sort of *Christians*, should be deprived of natural privileges for mere *opinion*, by those who pretend to be the *best servants* of that God, who shews them quite another example, by the universality of his goodness as Creator; and *believers* in that CHRIST, who himself preached the *perfection of love*, both to *friends and enemies*, and laid down his life to confirm it when he had done. If men should love their enemies, doubtless they ought at least to forbear their friends: and though some differences in judgment about *religion* be a sufficient reason to excommunicate a man the air ecclesiastical, yet nothing certainly of that sort ought to disprivilege men of their air natural and civil to breathe freely in: and let that *good* our superiors have observed to be the *fruit of our toleration*, not be weakened or blasted by an untimely *comprehension* of some, to the *exclusion* of the rest; since the reason holds the

same for the less formidable separatists, that may not be however any whit less conscientious.

We will omit to mention, how much more suitable it were to state-matters, that all parties should be kept upon an equal poize; a thing most true in itself, and most secure to the publick magistrate; and will conclude at this time, that though we no ways design a misrepresenting of any, much less their exception, and least of all their persecution; yet a comprehension, either respecting the persons and their qualifications, or their separation, and the grounds and reasons of it, we seriously believe, can never be consistent with that conscience, honour, wisdom, and safety, that ought to be the mark those who are concerned in it should take their aim by. But if a comprehension should at last be compassed, it is not doubted by many wise men, but it will be found as impracticable as other acts more seemingly severe have been, and at last will necessitate to that well-ordered universal toleration of all, who both profess and practice peace, obedience, industry, and good life; which will best please Almighty God, and rejoice the hearts of all good men.

From real friends,

TO KING and COUNTRY.

A LETTER

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
COUNCIL AND SENATE
OF THE CITY OF
E M B D E N.

Published in the Year 1674.

The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is
God of all the families of the earth, incline
your hearts to justice, mercy, and truth.

THE noise of your severe treatment of several
persons that are inhabitants of your state, re-
proachfully termed **QUAKERS**, hath reached these parts,
and filled several with compassion and surprize: com-
passion, to hear of the miseries of men innocent and
upright, against whom you have nothing to object,
but the pure exercise of their conscience to God^a:
surprize, that you, a Protestant state, should employ
your civil power to deter, punish, and grievously af-
flict men for answering the convictions of their con-
sciences, and acting according to the best of their
understandings. Methinks you should not be obli-

^a Our account says, some were cruelly beaten by order; others
banished; some put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water
only; several fined greater sums of money, it is thought, than they
had to pay.

vious of your own condition in the loins of your ancestors, who, you think, with great reason and justice strenuously advocated the cause of liberty of conscience against the Pope's bulls and the Spanish inquisition: how did they antichristian all force on conscience or punishment for non-conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Norimberg and Spire, are pregnant proofs in the case; and your practice doth not lessen the weight of their reasons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindness, let me say, injustice.

PROTESTANTS (and such you glory to be thought) got their name by protesting against impositions; and will you turn imposers? They condemned it; and will you practise it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the BEAST; and can you repute it the care of a CHRISTIAN magistracy? I mean, that persons must not live under your government, unless they receive your mark in their forehead or right hand? Which in plainer terms is, to submit their consciences to your edicts, and to ask your leave what religion they should be of. Remember, that "Faith is the gift of God;" and, that "what is not of faith is sin." Nothing can be more unreasonable, than to compel men to believe against their belief, or to trouble them for practising what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtless take yourselves to be Christians, and would esteem it no little injury to be otherwise represented; yet what more unchristian, than to use external force to sway the consciences of men about the exercise of religious worship.

Christ Jesus, the Lord and Author of the Christian religion, censured his own disciples, that would have had fire from heaven to destroy those that conformed not to what their blessed Master taught. Are you sure of your religion? Are you better Christians? Or, have you more Christian authority than they, that were the chosen witnesses of Jesus? However, remember they
called

called but for fire from heaven; and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them? *Them*, I say, that are of your own people, merely for their religious dissent from you? Doubtless, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiser than Solomon, it reflects greatly upon your modesty and prudence, that you should find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones, to effect so ill a design. Besides, you do not say you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed: have a care, therefore, that you persecute not angels, by being harsh to that which you call strange: think not ill, much less speak, and least of all act that which is so, against what you do not perfectly understand. I am well persuaded, that those you inflict such severe penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be sure much better than you think they do, or else you are extremely to blame); and that the reason of their present distance from you, is not to introduce or insinuate dangerous or exotick opinions; but to live a life of more holiness, purity, and self-denial, than before. They do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reason to believe that the power of godliness is much lost among you; and having long lain under a decay and languishing of soul for want of true spiritual nourishment, they have now betaken themselves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themselves for divine satisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things necessary for them to know, as the blessed apostle speaks; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghost in so doing. And I am persuaded they are not less peaceable, sober, just, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as consistent with the prosperity of civil society; and I am sure, it is both found and confessed among us here, by some men of quality, learning, and virtue. Farther, be pleased to consider with yourselves, that you justify the ancient persecutions of the Christians and first reformers, whose superiors thought as ill of them, as

you do of these men; nay, you shew the Papists what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by. If you would have liberty, give it; you know that God's witness in your hearts dictates this to you, as an immutable law.

Could you give faith, it were more excusable for you to punish such as should resist. But since that is impossible, the other is unreasonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they cannot be, unless they turn hypocrites: that is the highest pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preserve one soul to God: instead thereof it offers violence unto conscience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reason, or being destroyed for acting according to them: but what greater disproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and prisons, fines, and banishments? They inform no man's judgment, resolve no doubts, convince no understandings: the power of persuasion is not to be found in any such barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Christianity. This course destroys the bodies and estates of men,^b instead of saving their souls: were they in the wrong, it would become you to use God's weapons, his sword of the spirit, that saveth the creature, and slayeth the evil in him. This course tends to heart-burnings and destruction; I am sure it is no gospel argument.

I beseech you, for the sake of that Lord Jesus Christ that suffered so patiently for his own religion, and so sharply prohibited making other men to suffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exercise power over mens consciences. My friends, conscience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: it is to usurp his authority, and boldly ascend his throne, to set lords over it. Were their conversation scandalous, and destructive to the good of your state, you were to be held excusable: but

^b And property, which they repute themselves guardians of, is hereby lost,

verily,

verily, no man of mercy and conscience can defend your practice upon poor men so peaceable and inoffensive. Gamaliel will rise up in judgment against you, if you persevere in this course. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of persecutors, in much love I entreat you; but as becomes Christian men and true Protestants, leave men to their particular persuasions of affairs relative of the other world, which have no ill aspect on the affairs of this; but vice hath an evil consequence as to both: therefore punish vice, and affect truth and righteousness, and bend not your civil power to torment religious Dissenters; but to retrieve good life, lamentably lost amidst the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtless magistracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be "a terror to evil-doers," and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for assuming infallibility to herself, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the same presumption, or worse: for either you do exercise that severity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourselves your principles deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you punish people for not conforming to what you yourselves deny any certainty about: and how do you know but you compel them to that which is false, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not easily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will stain your profession, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your posterity.

Remember that they are men, as well as yourselves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourselves: the different persuasion of their consciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the same right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the least forfeited any of those human advantages, the great charters of

nature and scripture have conferred upon them: and the opulency of your neighbours, and prosperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconsistent with policy; howbeit, you have now tried the sincerity of their procedure, by what you have already inflicted, and they sustained: let the time past suffice, and make them not sacrifices for their conscientious constancy. If they are in the wrong, it is more than they know: will you persecute men for being what they must be, if they will be true to themselves? This were great violence; rather commiserate, than thus violently compel them. I beseech you, seek some cheaper way to accommodate yourselves, than by their destruction, who are so very remote from seeking yours. ‘O! the day will come, wherein one ‘act of tenderness about matters of conscience, shall ‘find a better reward, than all the severity by which ‘men use to propagate their persuasions in the world:’ and there is great reason for it, since the one flows from the Saviour, the other from the Destroyer, of men. In fine, “let your moderation be known unto “all men; for the Lord is at hand, whose reward is “with him; and he will recompense every man, faithfully, state, kingdom, and empire, according to “the nature of their works committed in this mortal “body:” at whose bar it shall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God’s office out of his hands, and of being unmerciful to tender consciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you. Truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; “his sun shineth on all, his rain “falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his “grace visits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh:” and though such you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make such broad tokens of your displeasure. O! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you so lately escaped the wrath of enemies, and can you
already

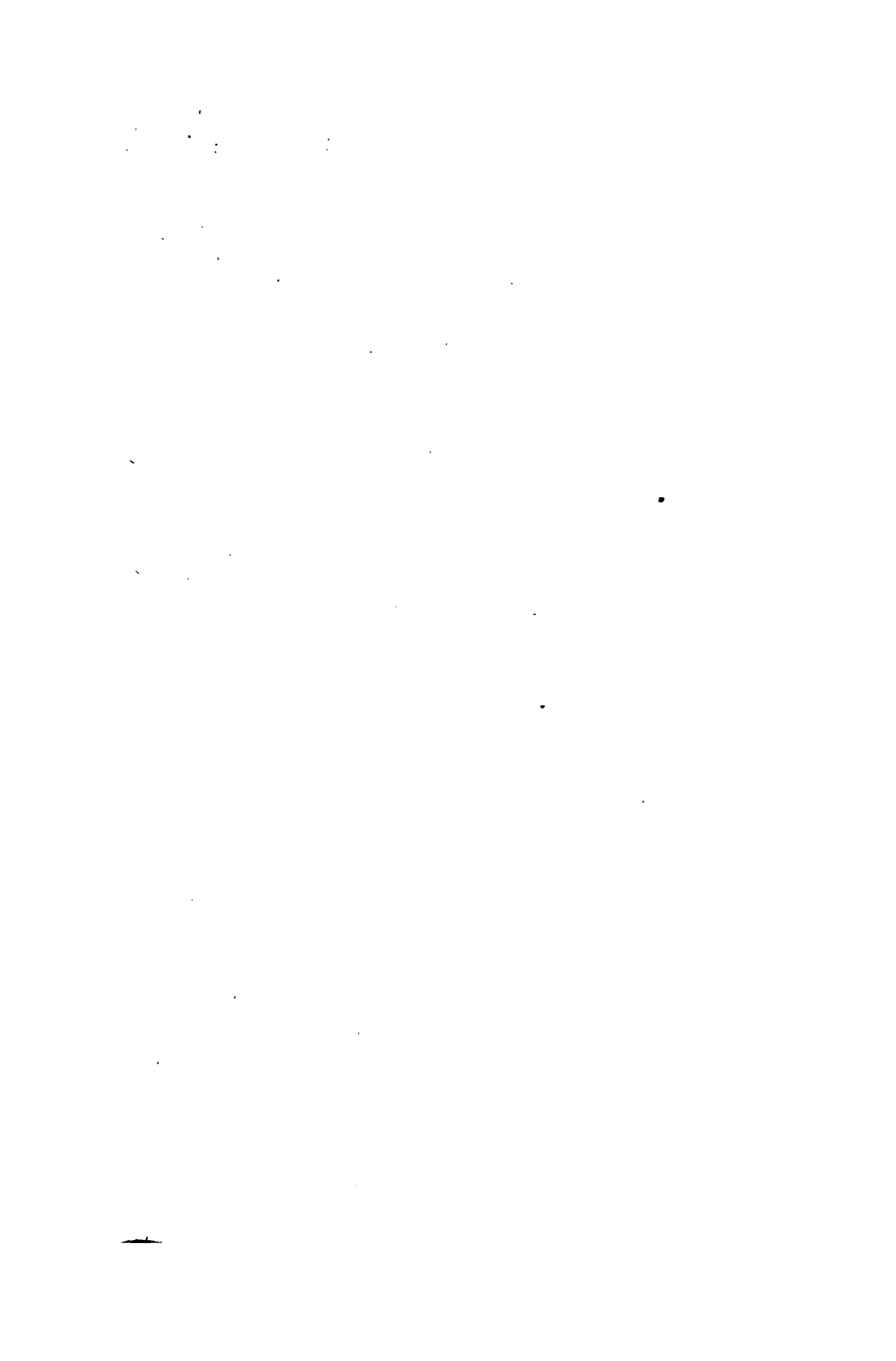
already thus sharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodness to you prevail with you to express clemency to others, that so the great God of the whole earth, even the 'God of the spirits of all flesh, who respects not the persons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment,' may shew you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your friend, with the greatest integrity, in the
universal principle of love and truth.

W. P E N N.

London, December the
14th, 1674.

Wisdom



Wisdom Justified of her Children,

FROM THE

IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY

OF

H. HALLYWEL,

IN HIS BOOK, CALLED

AN ACCOUNT of FAMILISM, as it is Revived
and Propagated by the QUAKERS.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake:
Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, shall think
he doth God service. But be of good cheer, I have overcome
the world. JOHN XV. 21. and xvi. 2. 33.

Published in the Year 1673.

T O T H E

JUSTICES of the PEACE in the County of Suffex.

A Certain person in your parts hath lately troubled himself and the world with a book, entitled, 'An Account of Familism, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers;' and this dedicated to Sir J. Covert, knight and baronet, &c. How ill he spent his time in writing it, and how unadvised he was in publishing it, an impartial perusal of this small discourse will briefly, yet abundantly manifest.

I come not to you for protection, (a thing he and his cause wanted), but for impartiality and justice: truth is sufficient to patronize and defend her own cause from the lash of envy, without the weak auxiliaries of human force; she gives sanctuary to all that take to her for refuge, but is all-sufficient to her own relief from the deepest pressure, and most inveterate prosecutions of her implacable enemies. And though the evil disposition of the world to receive her apologies, seems to conspire with the indefatigable endeavours of her adversaries to traduce her; yet her own purest innocence and unwearied patience have ever in the end broke forth, to such a clear conviction of her opposers, as hath proved at once both their confutation and their shame.

And let it seem no riddle to you, that I write so assured of truth on our side. There is no objection our adversary has made to the contrary, which we shall not easily remove. Our meanness in quality, breeding, literature, and fortunes in the world, (badges of reproach with him) will receive an ample parallel from the best persons and times, and is so far from making to overthrow, that if the scripture and other story be to be credited, they tell us, "that not many
" wise,

"wise, learned, or noble:" not that they are excluded; but, as persons stumbled at the cross of Christ, and the simplicity of the gospel, through the power that greatness and pleasure have with them, they exclude themselves.

But since great and rich men have souls to be saved as well as poor, it is equally their concern to inform themselves of that way which most assuredly leads to the rest that is eternal. I confess the variety of sects in the world to be a great discouragement, especially when we consider with what confidence each party pleads the truth and divine original of his own persuasion: but men are not to be satisfied with pretence, but evidence: education is too short, nor will tradition reach far enough, to ascertain any man of the verity of his persuasion.

Could the two first have done, there had been no need of relinquishing the Roman church, which was neither wanting in pretences, nor an education prejudiced enough against all reformation: and if tradition had been all-sufficient, the direction of God's unerring grace, and the necessary convictions of mens reasons, might have been spared.

For if men are to believe what is recommended for true, because *recommended*, and not because *true*, we are to believe we know not what; and shall be to seek so far for a reason for the hope that is in us, that in reality we can have no other answer to give, than that such or such told us so, and therefore we believe it: but if the ground of our faith ought to be more sure and better founded, it will stand us greatly upon to examine, what is the reason we have to render for our faith and hope in God, and that belief we have of holy scripture? If we err here, our building is insecure; and the danger is, that we shall not only one day lose our faith, but, which is worse, our souls too. This necessarily brings a man to a more inward search and testimony, some divine principle in man, planted by God himself, which gives to believe "that God is, "and that he is a rewarder of them that fear him."

This

This the best Heathens, as well as Jews and Christians, have highly venerated, and many are the testimonies they have left upon record, to the divine original, and excellent use of it, both to know God, and ourselves: and truly it was this holy principle in all ages that hath attended mankind with those checks, reproofs, and directions, by which he hath had any discerning of what should, from what should not, be done. This is that which hath given him the certain sound and true relish of what God has ever required at his hand, as said the prophet Micah, "God hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what he requires from thee; to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," Mich. vi. 8. In the Psalms thus, "Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit: thou sittest and speakest against thy brother: these things hast thou done, and I kept silence: thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes, saith the Lord." And the apostle Paul tells us, "Whatever may be known of God is manifested within." And what can that be by which God so manifesteth himself, but what Moses called "the Word nigh, in the heart," that the children of Israel were to obey; that Job calls "Light," which the wicked rebel against, not loving the ways thereof: the like doth Christ, in John, when he complained, that men would not bring their deeds to be examined by it. In all ages hath the Almighty, more or less, pleaded his own cause in the consciences of all people by this divine principle of light, however variously denominated: and whatever faith or hope man has, not grounded upon the discoveries, convictions, and directions of this, it is a by-rote faith, hope, and religion.

Therefore I beseech you, to whom this discourse is more particularly dedicated, to consider of us, not by tradition, education, religions established by human laws, or imperial decrees; but by that understanding which this 'Immortal law and everlasting foundation
' of

‘ of virtue,’ as Heathen Plutarch calls it, will afford you to judge us by.

It has been man’s venturing to wade into the holy scriptures without this divine principle, that has caused so many fearful miscarriages about religion. Something in man prompts him to religion; but man, being not wholly guided by that which so inspires him with religious desires, hastily spoils all with the intermixture of his own fancies and conceits: and because he is assured that what first inclined him was right, he sticks not to stile his own inventions orthodox; and then, impatient of contradiction, with a fury as great as his ignorance, endeavours the overthrow of whatever stands in his way, and refuses to receive his mark in his forehead, or in his right hand. This has occasioned so much trumpery in religion; ceremonies, shew, and mere formality, have swallowed up the greatest part of it: now were men brought to God’s heavenly gift in themselves, it would reclaim and leaven the mind, chain the affections, and bring religion into holy and self-denying living, and erect an holy regimen in the heart and soul, by which the heavenly image would be renewed, and man become as one born again; without which translation, there can be no entering into God’s heavenly kingdom.

This the first Protestants made to be the reason of their revolt from Rome: for though it is true, that they charged the Papists with making God’s tradition (the holy scriptures) void by their numerous dark traditions; yet that which begot that holy loathing of Rome’s superstitions, idolatries, and will-worship, was God’s GRACE in their hearts; and their best argument against Rome’s assaults was this, ‘ The scripture, which I believe from the testimony of the Spirit of God in me, and which I can only understand from the illumination thereof, owns no such thing, and therefore I reject it.’

Such as converse with Luther and his followers, Zuinglius and his followers, will find this to have been the foundation of their whole work. And our
own

own martyrology is full to our purpose, particularly Tindal, Tims, and Philpot.

I omit to mention a whole cloud of witnesses, because I intend not to dwell here; only this I would be at, and I entreat you all to weigh it, whether any thing can give to understand aright, and enable to practise those things of God, which it is necessary for man both to know and do, but God's light, grace, or word in the heart: what else can give us to relish the divine authority of the scriptures themselves, or to believe the things therein treated of to be undeniable truths? Indeed, the want of this has been a great occasion of Atheism; man making, practising, and enacting that for religion, of which people have had no assurance in themselves: but if they should speak their hearts, it is more probable they do not believe it; but instead thereof deride it, and so, under a shew of religion, live as men without God in the world.

To prevent which, and to bring men to the true understanding of what God expects from them, in order to that great account they are to give unto him at the revelation of his righteous judgments, "when he will judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ," we do exhort all to Christ's pure, unerring light in the conscience, (John viii. 12. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.) which is sufficient to daily understanding and duty; that what they believe and profess in matters of so high importance, they may be convinced in their very conscience, by the good understanding the inspiration of the Almighty gives, of the truth and necessity thereof; and not suffer themselves to be carried away with the torrent of fathers, councils, synods, doctors, scholars, national constitutions, &c. (big, and most times untrue, and too often empty words) without that inward conviction and testimony of God's good Spirit in your own consciences; the old protestant, and only primitive ground of true faith and obedience.

I know, and shall always acknowledge, that in the time of ignorance the Almighty winked; and that in every age he has expressed his regard to those under

the various forms of religion ever in the world, who have been sincere-hearted, and of sober and conscientious conversation: but I must also tell you, that by how much the more needless and unwarrantable customs, will-worship, and human religion built upon the dark and uncertain conjectures of men, are receded from, and the minds of people engaged in a diligent attendance upon that divine principle which only can clear up their understandings, and give them an experimental knowledge of the true God, and that way of worship and service which may be most acceptable with him, by so much more certain will they be of the truth of their religion; inasmuch as they have, over and above all external record, the assurance of unquestionable convictions in their own consciences.

Thus God, who made heaven and earth, knows, we came to receive that knowledge of him, which we now expose ourselves to all hardships to maintain.

We professed God; but, like our neighbours, in works we denied him. We worshipped him after man's conceivings; insomuch that I may say, we worshipped the unknown God in a false way. No doubt but we were stocked with the common talk of religion; 'but the cross of Christ we were strangers to.' His blood we extolled, 'whilst by wicked works we trod it under foot;' and believed ourselves saved by it, 'who were uncleansed from sin.' The whole end of his coming we esteemed the top of all love; 'but never knew enough of it, truly kindled in our hearts, whereby to work such faith and resignation as could give us victory over the world.' Thus were we, Jews-like, children of God, 'whilst we crucified the Son of God;' and of the seed of Abraham, 'whilst the serpent's seed reigned;' heirs of the kingdom, 'yet not born again;' free, 'yet the bondslaves of vanity.' O! at this time of day it was that God found us out, and broke in upon our souls with his righteous judgments for sin, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, within us; the book of conscience was opened, and great fear
fur-

surprized us, and deep sorrow fell upon us, which brought that sudden and strange change, that made us both the derision of profane, and wonder of sober men.

The author of the 'Account of Familism,' for want of more skill, and seriousness, calls it the hypochondria: as if it had been only a flux of melancholy overpowering the strength of reason, and carrying the understanding captive at the impetuosity of its fancies. But having been thus made sensible of the terrors of the Lord for sin, and being brought into a true understanding of that religion and worship which most please God, some of us were constrained, and in conscience bound, to go forth into the world, and publish these 'Tidings of judgment for sin, and conversion, 'through righteousness, wrought by the mighty power 'of God in the conscience,' that all might be awakened to try their works, faiths, worships, and whole religions, whether they were of God or men; or whether they had been doing their own wills, or the will of God; that so they might be brought to experience God to be a God nigh at hand, reconciled in Christ, blotting out sin, and renewing a right spirit within; by which their religion might not longer stand in the traditions of men, or on the education of parents, but upon the convictions and operations of God's grace in the conscience. And thus is all that Christ did without, brought nigh and home to the very soul. The seed of the woman is known to bruise the head of the serpent; Christ, the Light, and Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, not only to take away the sins past through remission, but cleanse from the nature, root, and ground of sin, by his holy blood, which sprinkles all consciences that wait and walk in the light (the just man's path) from dead works, to serve the living God in uprightness for ever.

For this cause are we brought out into the world; and behold the vessel we are embarked in, our lading, and the country we make for! the vessel, *truth*; the lading, *faith* and *good works*; our souls, the *passengers*; and the country, the land of *everlasting rest*.

This I could not but present you with, that no endeavours of our enemies may be able to lodge a false character of us and our principles with you: though I must faithfully tell you, that I should wrong my own reason, as well as your judgment, and speak against my conscience too, if I should let in one thought of this man's ability to do us any great mischief with you: for, out of no insult, but in real truth, I take him for a very unskilful pilot on our coast, a man unacquainted with our concerns; and a most incompetent person for an antagonist.

Accept (for I can ask no excuse for) my plainness. I have not fawned; I never could, and now much less: these matters not only deserve, but require, the greatest plainness. And men that believe they shall have to do with God, after they have left having to do with men, ought to act with greatest circumspection and sincerity. Remember your original, remember your end; and know assuredly that, but "Breath is in your nostrils; and for every deed done in this mortal body, whether it be good, or whether it be evil, will God, the righteous judge, require an account from you before his great tribunal;" where may you all be able to answer with joy!

I am your faithful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

WISDOM

WISDOM JUSTIFIED OF HER CHILDREN,
FROM THE IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY OF
H. HALLYWEL.

C H A P. I.

His EPISTLE considered.

THE adversary we have to do withal begins his dedicatory epistle thus, ‘ The daily and numerous increase of the heretical generation of Quakers in these parts, made me a little more than ordinarily inquisitive into their doctrines and persuasions; which I found not only destructive of civil government, but of religion itself.’

It is natural with ignorance to be proud, and envy to slander. His enquiry has been at our adversaries doors, not ours. They that read him, and those books that lately came out, may know his informers without farther cost: but book-robbery, though to untruth, is an old priest-trick.

If his sort of rendering us inconsistent with government could incense the civil magistrate to our destruction, we know very well traducers would not be wanting. Truth has never been persecuted under its own name: heresy is an old blot the devil has cast upon it, that it may become suspected with the simple; and Christians were of old worried in beast-skins: such coverings the present heathen spirit has provided for us. But as we cannot but bless the name of Almighty God, that he has brought us to the knowledge of his good old way of “ Truth in the inward parts;” so do we affirm it to be neither averse from government, nor destructive of religion; right government being according to it; and pure religion being “ to keep

† Jer. 34. Heb. viii. 10.

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“ ourselves unspotted from the world,” and to do, or suffer, which we have ever done; and God knows, to that is the tendency of our holy principle, to wit, moderation, justice, industry, temperance, and upright conversation. But the true English of this wicked suggestion is no more than this; the Quakers and their persuasion are inconsistent with will-worshippers, hirelings, men-pleasers, persecutors, and oppressors: they give the world an alarm for these things, and round their ears with the necessity of walking in so strait and narrow a way, as gives great disquiet to the libertine, and brings the priest’s qualification into great question, and his trade into absolute danger.

No wonder, then, so many hard names are cast upon us, to deter such as are unacquainted with us; and beget scruples in them that are well-disposed to us. However, this contentment this paragraph gives, that notwithstanding all this opposition, ‘ we daily and ‘ numerously increase,’ for which my soul is greatly glad, and my knees bow to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would continue to prosper and speed his own great work of redemption in the earth. But he goes on:

‘ For what else can be expected from them, who ‘ deny the scripture to be the word of God, and rule ‘ and guide in matters of salvation?’

Ans. We do not deny the scriptures to be the word of God, and rule and guide in matters of salvation, out of any undervalue of them; but from that reverent regard we have to CHRIST, the great and eminent WORD, “ who was with God, and was God, “ by whom all things were made; who is the way, “ truth, and life, the great Prophet, Judge, Law-giver, and Priest to his people, whose lips preserve “ knowledge.” He is the new covenant rule and judge; and without him we can never understand, nor believe the scriptures as we should do: nay, so far are they from being a rule, &c. that a thousand cases may

† Jam. i. 27. † John xiv. Acts vii. 37.

happen

happen wherein they cannot be a direction to us. Nay, they may be *burned, drowned, torn, lost, mistranslated, added to, diminished*; men may be *robbed* of them, *imprisoned* from them; but none of all this can or ought to be said of the great *gospel rule*: God has ever been sufficient to his people in every age; and since they only are "children of God, who are led by the Spirit of God," and that it is "the Spirit of God alone which leads into all truth," it follows that the law of the spirit of life, writ in the HEART, and not a law writ on *paper* (a state less excellent than the Jews, whose law was written upon *stone*) is the *great evangelical rule of living*: yet are the scriptures an holy declaration of the word of God, and of the rule and guide in matters of salvation: and we reject for ever that spirit which leads into those principles and practices, that in the least contradict the standing and permanent truths therein mentioned: for they were written by holy men of God, being inspired thereto, and contain godly reproof, admonition, exhortation, and prophecies, for the edification of the church, and perfecting the man of God to every good word and work, through faith in Christ Jesus; and as such, many directions, precepts, and rules, are therein laid down: yet they all refer to the grace, light, spirit, word, or anointing within, as that by which man ought to be ruled, governed, and ordered, to God's glory and his own comfort,^d as they first were who gave them forth; for they were witnesses of the truth of what they writ. So that they are an holy declaration of the way of God, and that holy principle which leads to it, and in it; without which the book is sealed; the scriptures are unknown; and consequently not the scriptures, but that *holy key* of David, is the rule, how far, and which way, we are both to understand, interpret, believe, and practise them.

^d Tit. ii. 11, 12. John iii. 19, 20, 21. Rom. viii. 13, 14. 1 John ii. 27. Read 'Quakerism, a new nick-name for old Christianity,' from pag. 24, to pag. 202. Also 'Reason against Railing,' from pag. 24, to pag. 47.

This may be enough to shew the disingenuity of our adversary in representing us to his knight: for because we cannot give that title and office due to Christ himself, from him, to his bare declaration, he would insinuate that we refuse all conformity to the holy examples and testimonies therein related and expressed, as if we were a most dissolute crew of libertines.

But he tells us, ' That this person (whose name I suppose we shall prove he has made too bold with) so well knowing our obstinate and perverse humour, in the discharge of his trusts committed to him under his most sacred majesty, he could do no less than present him with this treatise; that going under the name and protection of so worthy and accomplished a person, it may in some measure obtain its desired effect, by putting a stop to the growing evil, and confirming those who are not seduced in the truth of their profession.' A most nonsensical expression.

Ans. But I am willing to hope better things of him, than that he should go upon the priest's message, or turn their knight-errant. But what is the matter that the Quakers are so perverse? They cannot say 'right worshipful,' because they think that of right belongs to God; nor 'most sacred majesty,' that being fit for no mortal man: neither can they lie and flatter with 'your most obliged and affectionate servant, for they are more obliged to God than man, and to one man more than another. He either knew not, forgot, or slighted the rebuke of Paulinus to Sulpitius Severus, who said, 'It becometh not Christ's freemen to subscribe themselves servant,' &c. But it is nothing with such as our adversary to cog, lie, and flatter: it is one part of his manners.

I would fain know what rule he had for all this? Did the holy prophets and apostles teach him any such trash? Will he prate of scripture for a rule, and yet bridle his flattering tongue no better? The customs of the Heathens have entered the profession of Christianity; and that old spirit, under this new trim, goes off for a very good Christian.

‘ O! but

‘O! but the Quakers are obstinate in other cases, for all this!’

Ans. Why so? Because they will by all means stand to their principles; they will not play the sycophants; threats do not fright them, nor promises gain them; they love their conscience above their convenience; and seek to please God rather than men. Perhaps, *this* sort of men the *knight* has found them, but could have wished them more pliant to the laws, it may be, that he might have some colour to be kind: must therefore this busy-body intitle his name to all his own follies, lies, and slanders against us? What can any moderate person think, but that the patron of such discourse has been an eminent persecutor, whose protection is so plainly called for to a book that without doubt would have him so? For my part, I think the knight ought to repute that ignorant and disingenuous discourse so far from being a testimony how much the author is his most obliged and affectionate servant, that for interesting his name and power therein, he should hereafter look upon him as an enemy to him, his name, and family.

Before I conclude, give me leave to ask him, why he fought for protection? Is his national cause, defended by princes, parliaments, navies, armies, the learned, rich and powerful clergy, both universities, the generality of the gentry and commonalty, so weak and gasping? Or are the poor, despised, traduced, and trodden-down Quakers so potent and terrible, that a book of eight sheets dare not peep out against them, but a big title must be got to recommend and patronize it? But how worthy soever the knight be, that will not hinder my proceeding to shew the unworthiness of the book, and therein of the author, as well to his patron, as the despised Quakers.

C H A P. II.

Containing an answer to his first chapter, in which he pretends an agreement to be between the Quakers, and other ancient and modern hereticks.

The comparison examined, and proved defective.

OUR adversary, that he may the better prejudice his reader against us, introduceth his discourse with a comparison of us to the most noted and odious of the reputed ancient and modern hereticks; doubtless hoping, that what he wants of argument to render us such, may be supplied by that ill opinion men have of those he brings us into parallel with. The first man he thought fit to pitch upon is Simon Magus, a man famous for his infamous sorceries, with whom he wickedly yokes that faithful minister of God, George Fox, 'because,' saith he, 'Simon Magus gave out that he was God the Father; and George Fox, before the justices at Lancaster, that he was equal with God.'

Ans. There is no believing a decimating, persecuting priest against a Quaker, till he makes more conscience of telling lies, who hath given too many demonstrations of his desire to have us run down at any rate, to be credited by those who love truth more than partiality.

George Fox denies the words; they were never so spoken by him; much less were they ever intended in that way our adversary takes and improves them. For though there be not an equality, yet there is an unity, as testifieth the scripture; "Let the same mind be in you, that was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." And "He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause

• Phil. ii. 6.

"he is not ashamed to call them brethren." Again, "They that are joined to the Lord are one spirit;" and, "He that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous.*" To deny this, is to deny the most heavenly benefit we have by Christ, namely, that unity and fellowship we have with the Father and with the Son. That it was an unity, not an equality, especially in the sense he takes the word, the faithful narrative of that proceeding, printed in the year 1654, will farther testify.

How great then must this man's miscarriage be, who, to render a good man an impostor, turns forger himself! but God will reward him.

The next pair he pitches upon to prove his assertion, is Menander and James Naylor (p. 3.) 'The one for affirming himself to be sent from the invisible regions to be the saviour of mankind: and James Naylor for asserting himself to be Christ, and accepting hosannahs and divine worship in the streets of Bristol.'

Ans. What Menander was I know not; and it is hard believing a character of any man, when it is given by his enemy: but sure I am that James Naylor never asserted himself to be the Christ of God; neither did he ever deny him that appeared at Jerusalem to be the Lord's Christ, as his writings plentifully declare, especially one paper written by him to the then parliament, when a prisoner in Bridewell.

'Christ Jesus, the Emmanuel (of whose sufferings the scriptures declare) him alone I confess before men; for whose sake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myself; whom alone I seek to serve in body, soul, and spirit, night and day, according to the measure of grace working in me; even to that Eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb for ever. But to ascribe this power and virtue to James Naylor, or for that to be exalted or

* Heb. ii. 11. * 1 Joh. iii. 7.

‘ worshipped, to me is great idolatry. So having an
 ‘ opportunity given (with readiness) I am willing,
 ‘ in the fear of God the Father, and in honour to
 ‘ Christ Jesus, to take off all offences from every sim-
 ‘ ple heart, without guile or deceit.’

His third comparison lies betwixt Photinus, who is said to have denied the Trinity, and G. Fox, as guilty of the same error in his account, pag. 4.

Ans. I can find no such place in the book so called: either our adversary sets up for a new controvertist, or he dishonestly shunned giving us the page: but I am willing to believe, that he took it as he found it in some other adversary; for any thing reported or printed against a Quaker, is ground enough for an envious priest to accuse him.

But what if G. Fox denied the unscriptural expressions, viz. the Trinity of distinct and separate *Persons*? must it necessarily follow that he denied the “ Three
 “ that bear record in heaven, the Father, Word, and
 “ Spirit?”^a We justly renounce those barbarous school terms, as not suited to God’s heavenly manifestations, but the dark conceits of some popish doctors.

His fourth comparison is made between Socinus and James Naylor, in that the one denied the ‘ Satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and looked upon his passion
 ‘ only as an example. The other, in that he affirmed,
 ‘ the end for which Christ did suffer, was to be a liv-
 ‘ ing example to all generations.’ Love to the lost,
 p. 50.

Ans. He has not truly delivered the opinion of Socinus, whose books shew, however mistaken about Christ’s divinity, that he ever esteemed his death and passion to have more in it than a bare example: nor has he faithfully dealt with J. Naylor in this quotation; for first, I find not the words as cited; and next, the word ONLY is by himself omitted, which alone renders the passage heterodox. Suppose then that J.

^a 1 John v.

Naylor writ, 'That Christ was in his suffering a living example to all generations;' is there no difference between Christ's being in his death and passion *only* our example, which he charges upon Socinus, and Christ's being our living example in *suffering*, which he attributes to J. Naylor? How can there be a comparison, where there is so great a disparity? The first is denied by all that own Christ: the last is owned by all that do not deny Peter, who thus writ to the scattered brethren, "For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps." 1 Pet. ii. 21.

His fifth comparison he makes between the Valentians and the Quakers. 'The former,' he says, 'arrogated to themselves a knowledge beyond Christ and his apostles; the latter impudently throw away the written word of God, and delude the credulous vulgar, with new-fangled revelations;' which he thinks he has proved by two instances: 1. That Tho. Holbrow, a Quaker, to one that urged scripture, answered, 'What dost thou tell me of scripture, which is no more to me than an old almanack?' 2. That Fox and Hubberthorn, in a book called Truth's Defence, say, 'The scriptures are no standing rule, and it is dangerous for ignorant people to read them.'

Ans. To the first I say, there is great difference between one that was *no* Quaker, and one that *was* or *is* a Quaker: we have examined the matter, and by all we can find, both that saying is not true as charged, and it is of an ancients date than the coming of any of our friends into those parts; therefore not the saying of a *true* Quaker. To the second I return thus much, It is true there is such a book, and it was written by G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn; but he has not given us so much as one page to direct us to the passage: so that either people must read till they find it,

or else take his perversion for our assertion. Unworthy man! does he think us such wretches, that we deserve not common justice? Methinks justice should not be denied where so little mercy is shewn.

But to answer the instance. Our judgment about the scriptures being the rule, we have already delivered: and in what sense it is dangerous to read them, their own book will declare.

‘It is dangerous,’ say G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn, ‘to read the scripture in order to make war against the saints, to give carnal expositions upon them, and meanings contrary to them, and to make a trade of them; but blessed is he that doth read and doth understand them.’ If this prove that slight to scripture our adversary would suggest them to be guilty of, then let us be condemned: but God’s witness in every unfeared conscience will acquit them, and judge him for corrupt citation, and hard speeches, who dares to cry thereupon, ‘Are not these as impudent hereticks as the Valentinians?’ whom he represents to have arrogated to themselves a knowledge above Christ and his apostles: which, how true soever it may be of them, I am sure is false enough of us; for those hideous consequences he makes, are not deducible from any unperverted saying to be cited out of ‘Truth’s Defence.’

And lest any should think we deny, with the Papists, the perusal of the scriptures to ignorant people, from what our adversary says, know that they spoke of such ignorant and unlearned persons, as, in reading, “wrested them to their own destruction.” Now unless it be not dangerous to read to destruction, they are not chargeable with blame in that matter.

But who are the knowing and learned? The Jewish doctors, and Greek philosophers? No, but fishermen, and poor mechanicks, disciplined in Christ’s school, for the excellency of whose knowledge Paul reputed his Gamaliel-acquisitions but dross and dung: so that their knowing and learned are many times the ignorant and unlearned we speak of, “whose wisdom God will
“confound,

"confound, and whose understanding he will bring
"to nought."

His last comparison of us in this chapter, is with Marcus, an old heretick. The agreement he makes betwixt us 'lies in our mutual pretences to inspiration and prophecy.' For as he reports him to have 'abused many silly women, under colour of conferring on them the gift of prophesying, and that he 'had a familiar spirit, by which he brought himself 'into credit with his deluded followers;' so he tells us that. 'he has had it confidently affirmed, that about 'the first rise of the Quakers, in the North of England, several persons, by gloves, and ribbands, and 'divers charms, were really bewitched by them. And 'doubtless many of their quaking fits were real possessions by the devil.^k'

Ans. What Marcus was, is nothing to us: if he has done amiss, he has answered for it by this time. I confess I am not over fond of the characters left us of ancient hereticks, knowing what kind of creatures the best Protestants are with Papists; and what fearful monsters several sober separatists are reputed among some Protestants: but this I know, if what he hath said of several ancients be no truer than what he hath said of us, he has grossly abused their doctrines and their memories.^l

For the witchcraft of gloves, ribbands, and charms, it is scarce worthy my notice; his folly in mentioning it being a sufficient reproof and confutation to himself. A story fit for none, at this time of day, to report or believe, but a man of his size. I thought they had been worn out by this time.

But let the sober reader judge, which favours most of Satan's design, this idle, yet scandalous, story, or our 'fearing and trembling at the word of the Lord, 'and those terrors that broke in upon our souls, be- 'cause of sin and iniquity?' It is but the old spirit of mockery, that actuated the Jews and Heathens

^k Pag. 6. ^l Pag. 7.

against the Christians, and Papists against Protestants and too many Protestants of several sorts, against so more reformed separatists.

For had the reverent fear of God possessed our adversary's heart, in the writing of this discourse, there had been no room for such irreligious scoffs against an inoffensive people. But the devil, because he would be God, calls God the devil, and Christ Beelzebub, light, darkness; and the power of God the power of Satan; and the fear and trembling brought by one, the possessions and witchcrafts of the other. Certainly such men live in a dry land, they see not what good cometh. But what will not an enraged tything priest do to destroy us, who, he knows, are discoverers of such deluders?

C H A P. III.

His pretended agreement between the authors of Familism and the Quakers considered. His objections answered.

I Now come to consider the reason of the title of this book, and what ground he had to name us revivers and propagators of familism, with the many weighty objections he makes against us; if in truth we may repute the strongest of them such; and that in what brevity, truth, and faithfulness I can.

'The great authors of this doctrine of familism, he says, 'were David George and Henry Nicholson; but more especially the latter, as having more fully proved and diffeminated the pernicious errors introduced by the former.' He bestows many severe expressions upon them, more, I think, than becomes a man of any charity to give. I am not their advocate, but so much spleen, and so little reason, against such men, can be neither christian, nor manly. What they say they held, and how far we are concerned in it is our business to enquire.

§. 1. Of Christ's ministration.

And first he tells us, that H. N. should say, 'That not only the law of Moses, but the ministration of Christ and his apostles, were only temporary things, instituted to bring men to the perfect reign of the Spirit; and then, like horn-books and primmers to grown understandings, to be thrown away,' p. 10, 11. And that this is the full sense of the Quakers,' says our adversary, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. 'hear John Crook, a Quaker; "We believe, by the same gift of grace, that there are several ministrations, and several operations, according to 1 Cor. 12. and all by the same Spirit; as before and after the law by Moses, and after by John the Baptist, and Christ and his apostles. And by this Spirit were the scriptures given forth, and the holy men of God did speak, prophecy, preach, and pray, as they were moved; and to answer the service God had for them to do, they were to wait, as Christ commanded his disciples, to receive the promise of the Father.—And therefore as it was the practice of the people of God, in old time, to wait for the moving of this Spirit, that they might speak as it gave them utterance in the evidence and demonstration thereof; so do this people, called Quakers, now." Upon which our adversary dares to observe, 'That we, with the Familists, deny the ministration of Christ to be the ministration of the Spirit;' and consequently charges us with a blasphemous derogation from the honour of our blessed Saviour, who said to his apostles, John xvi. 14. "He shall receive of mine, and shew it unto you."

Ans. If our adversary's weakness has run him into this strange parallel, he is to be pitied; but if his envy, he is severely to be rebuked. Will any man that has sense or honesty say, it is all one to affirm that Christ's ministration is 'an horn-book that time casts off with infancy;' and that it is 'a waiting to

‘ receive the same spirit Christ commanded his apostles
 ‘ to wait for, as the promise of the Father, and the
 ‘ peculiar gift of his own ministration?’ Does not
 J. Crook expressly draw a parallel between the holy
 men of God of old, and the Quakers of our time;
 that as they then, so the Quakers now, wait to be
 taught, moved, and ordered by the same eternal Spi-
 rit, through which all come to be baptized into one
 body? How was that then no spiritual ministration,
 when we desire to be conformed unto the spirit and
 holy example thereof; not making this a new, but
 reviving that old and durable ministration of the
 spirit? Therefore “ blasphemous derogations” will
 return to our adversary, as unduly charged upon us,
 with a charge upon him of base derogation from the
 truth of our belief.

But he thinks that Humph. Smith has made much
 for him in thus querying; p. 15. ‘ Whether should
 ‘ people be led in these days by Moses, according to
 ‘ his outward ministration, or the person of Christ,
 ‘ (limiting him to his visible appearance) or the spirit
 ‘ of truth, which he promised to pour out after his
 ‘ ascension?’ which contains the substance of what he
 quotes out of Humph. Smith, and to which he thus
 answers: ‘ There is no sober Christian can read this
 ‘ passage without anger and disdain, to see such wicked
 ‘ wretches scoff, and sneeringly insult upon the sacred
 ‘ person of our Lord Jesus: the whole history of
 ‘ whose life and death, in the letter of it, they esteem
 ‘ no better than one of Æsop’s fables.’

Ans. But our adversary will not so easily escape the
 hands of the just God, “ whose is vengeance,” for
 these ungodly defamations, as he well knows he may
 do ours: anger, disdain, and lies, become him, and it
 is little to be wondered that he should be guilty of
 them all against a Quaker. If H. Smith had asserted
 ‘ that Moses could not be our leader, neither the vi-
 ‘ sible person of Christ, but the spirit of truth,” he
 had not exceeded the warrant of scripture, nor the
 very judgment of this reviler. It is not two pages off
 that

that he quoted John xvi. 14. "He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you:" which, if I understand any thing, imports thus much; 'That those things which they knew not whilst Christ was with them, after his ascension the Holy Ghost should reveal unto them,' as these two preceding verses fully prove. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit, when the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth, and he will shew you things to come." Nay, Christ himself says in the 7th verse, "Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." And in the xivth chap. verse 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, he speaks thus, "I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, and he will abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth:" so that the *personal* ministration was manifestly transient and temporary; but that of the SPIRIT was to abide for ever. But I would not any should think it to be less Christ's ministration, because the ministration of the Spirit; for the LORD is that Spirit, as his own words manifest: again, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more, but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also; for he that dwelleth with you, shall be in you. At that day you shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." And that this Comforter is Christ, in his spiritual coming and appearance, let it be farther observed, that the same word for *Comforter* (Παράκλητος) in John xvi. 7. is the word used by the same apostle in the first verse of the 2d chapter of his first epistle, for *advocate*, when he says, "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous."

In short, the dispensation of his visible appearance was but temporary: "It is expedient for you that I go away." But his ministration, who so appeared, then disappeared, and after re-appeared, is a spiritual

and unalterable ministration, "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world, Mat. xxviii. 20. And truly thus much our adversary (p. 13.) in contradiction to himself, grants us, that 'the ministration of Christ ' was indeed the ministration of the Spirit.' Now what scoffs, fleerings, or insults against the sacred person of our Lord Jesus any can see in this doctrine, to incite a sober Christian to anger and disdain, I leave to any but such an angry disdainful enemy to judge.

I cannot forget this horrible lie of us, concerning the scripture, stolen probably out of an Anabaptist's lying dialogue lately printed against us. Prelaticks and sectaries can sometimes agree against Quakers. Æsop's fables have more worth in them than all the books that ever were written against the Quakers: I do not all doubt but there are twenty fables in Æsop, that, well considered, would have taught them more discretion, and (it should have been their own fault if not) more honesty too, than any or all of them have shewn in their utmost endeavours against us. But that we have 'no more regard to, nor belief in, the holy scriptures of truth, than in Æsop's fables,' is a story more profane and fabulous than any fable in Æsop; and God will recompence with a vengeance this defamer of an innocent people, unless diverted by his unfeigned repentance.

§. 2. Of Revelation.

He tells us, 'The second thing wherein the Familists and Quakers are all one, is the pretence of immediate revelation. Dav. Geo. and H. N. both pretended to receive their doctrine from the angel Gabriel. And W. Gibson, the Quaker, says, p. 16. that the gospel which they preach they have not received it from men, nor from books, nor from writings, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ in them; and then denies the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will of God.'

Anf.

Ans. After what manner D. G. and H. N. received their commission I know not; but sure I am that W. Gibson's assertion is found. Take away revelation, and the gospel ceases of course; Christ is put beside the dignity of his prophetic and priestly office; the promises of God will be broken; and the most excellent part of the scriptures, God's traditions, made void. Who was it said, "A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up like unto me, Deut. xviii. 18. HIM shall ye hear in all things. There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding, Job xxxii. 8. As for me, this is my covenant with him, saith the Lord, My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever," Isa. lix. 21. "I will reveal unto them the abundance of peace and truth," Jer. xxxiii. 6. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."—And no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." Matt. xi. 25, 27. "No man can come unto me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." John vi. 44. "But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. chap. xiv. 30. "If any thing should be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me.-----For I neither received the gospel of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Gal. i. 12. 16. "If any be otherwise minded, God will reveal it to him," Phil. iii. 15. As I said before, so again, who uttered these excellent sayings, and for what end? If no inspiration, no understanding: if no revelation, no

knowledge: and if the Spirit cease to teach, (as it can never teach, but by inspiration or revelation) then the administration of Christ and his apostles is ceased indeed: and so not the Quakers, but their adversary overturns the gospel ministration, as begun and preached by Christ and his apostles. And be it known to all the world, we think *revelation* no disgrace to our cause. Parrots may *learn* scripture, but can never *experience* it. And those know little better, who know not by experience: they are unprofitable canters indeed, who confidently talk of what they never felt; and idle boasters, who buoy up themselves unto the reputation of ministers and Christians, with a loud talk of their travels, trials, inspirations, and experiences, whom they plainly mock in their posterity; concluding all blind, because themselves cannot see. In short, let it be the character of the despised Quakers, (and we glory in it) that all the councils, synods, universities, doctors, scholars, and the most unanimous decrees, learned books, and whatever the power and art of the spirit of man can produce, will never be able to give, or rule, that true faith which overcomes the world: for "that which may be known of God is manifest within man:" and though outward records may testify of and direct to that unerring light and spirit, by which man comes both to know God, and to be made conformable to his heavenly image; yet nothing below the discoveries, convictions, and effectual operations of the Eternal Spirit, can give man the certain knowledge of God, nor that daily ability by which alone he may be enabled to obey him.

Pag. 16, 17, 18. But he opposeth to us 'Miracles and reason; insinuating that we have no more of the last than the first, and therefore not to be believed.' To the first, I say, we pretend to no other religion, than what was professed and practised by the apostles, and therefore need no new miracles after that manner to confirm that which has been confirmed by miracles already; especially to those who believe those mira-
cles:

cles: and to deny revelation where there are no miracles, is to discard many of the prophets, and to deny the pouring forth of the spirit upon the primitive Christians. But, above all, hear the man's interpretation of Deut. xviii. 22. "When a prophet speaks in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass;" that is, faith this horrible perverter of holy scripture, 'if he do no miracle;' whereas the verse intends no such thing. Is this to rant over the Quakers for ideots, as if he were some doctor of the chair, that where the scripture speaks of *prophecy*, he should render it *miracle*; as if he that is a prophet, is a worker of miracles, and that miracles and prophecy are equivalent? But (*argumentum ad hominem*) let us see how it will hold. 'He that is a true prophet must necessarily work miracles: but the priests of England cannot work miracles; therefore, the priests of England are all false prophets.' A true conclusion, yet false premises: a paradox. Now for the reasonableness of our doctrine: 'he thinks a very mean capacity can find none in it; for how should there be any reason in what they teach, when they themselves,' says he, 'deny the use of reason. (pag. 18.) But none have less than they which pretend to so much. This man dares swagger for *reason*, and yet cries out, *heresy*, as soon as he sees it. His reason is, the authority of his church; the say-so of some university doctor; finally, the works of some learned men: and offer never so much reason and conscience against them, and your reason is *sophistry*, and conscience, *enthusiasm*. The justest separation in the world is with such but *schism*; and, which is the last stratagem, such persons must be enemies to *Cæsar*. But I may say of those men, as Heraclitus said of their forefathers, 'If blind men were to judge of sight, they would say blindness were sight.' God is the fountain as well of reason as light: and we assert our principle not to be without reason, but most reasonable; whence it is frequent with us, in our reproof of cruel men, to say 'they are unreasonable,' whether it be to man or beast,

making good what the prophet saith, "For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach them." Again, "Come and let us reason together." And Tertullian will have the first verse of John thus rendered; "In the beginning was reason, and that reason was with God, and that reason was God; by that were all things made," &c. And this seems no foreign interpretation; for in the 10th verse of Jude we have "sensual men not having the Spirit," called *ἄλογα ζῶα*, *unreasonable creatures*; according to which the apostle speaks, *ἔτοιμοι πρὸς ἀπολογία* *αἰσθητέον*, "to him that asks reason, be ready to give it."

Thus much (to overlook our own translation in Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians, where he calls such "Unreasonable men that have not faith,") concerning reason: so that it is very evident by our adversary's denying, and the Quakers asserting an unerrable principle to be in man, and the refusal of the one, and the readiness of the other, to be governed thereby, that not the Quakers, but their enemies, are unreasonable, both in their faith and practice.

§. 3. Of forms of prayer.

Our adversary spends two or three pages in proving the necessity of 'bodily worship;' and he doth it so lamely, that if it were so much my judgment to deny it, as it is to practise it, I know nothing he has said to incline me to it. This he makes an introduction to that agreement, he says, there is between D. G. H. N. and the Quakers, in their mutual renouncing both bodily worship and visible ordinances.' For bodily worship, I need say no more, than that our public meetings judge him guilty of great dishonesty. For his visible ordinances, we shall proceed to consider them. The first is concerning a form of prayer: hear him.

'With the like silly and weak confidence they exclaim against forms of prayer, when as our blessed Saviour taught his disciples a form.' Mat. vi. 9.
"After

"After this manner therefore pray ye," &c. "And left," says he, "we should think that this was only a pattern, Saint Luke, chap. xi. expresses it, "When ye pray, say, Our Father," &c. "that is, do it in these words, Moreover, John taught his disciples; and one of Christ's disciples desired that he would teach them: where we are told first, that John delivered a form of prayer to his disciples. 2. That Christ's disciples besought him that he would also give them some form of his making."

Ans. But can this man have the vanity to plead the necessity of the use of this form, much less of those that are of mens invention and appointment, from those quotations? Has his religion brought him no farther? Can he believe that Matthew writ by the Holy Ghost, and yet imply an absolute reproof in his so much more commending Luke's account, which, he thinks, requires the express words, and not others like them? But let it be considered, that this was a time of infancy; and that it was before the more full pouring out of the Spirit is certain; and that they knew not gospel-prayer, as afterwards, is undeniable. Besides, it is either sufficient, or it is not: if insufficient, it reflects on Christ. Besides, who can supply its defect? If sufficient, why do you use any other? Whatever it is upon our principles, you must confess it to be "a setting of your posts by "God's posts;" your invention by his institution. It is mere deceit to attempt the defence of the Popish English mass book from Christ's prayer. Prove your forms to be of divine institution, and that God by his Spirit now requires them, and the debate will end; otherwise, we reject the allusion, as improper and incoherent. The Spirit is not confinable to set forms; though in times of ignorance he hath administered comfort in them to those who were sincere, and knew no better: but forms are not therefore to be perpetuated; for that were to obstruct the more free operation of the Spirit, and our expression by it: it is at best but a state of weakness to be condescended to,
but

but never to be pleaded for: God's Spirit will be unlimited; as well as the words, he prompts us to, must never by another be confined.

§. 4. Of baptism.

He says, we 'both deny baptism (by which I understand *water*); because Christ, finding it among the Jews, adopted it into his religion; a ceremony neither burthenfome nor offensive, and the only door set open under the gospel for salvation.' For which he brings three scriptures, Mat. xxviii. 19. "Go, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father," &c. To the same purpose by Mark, chap. xvi. ver. 15, 16. And Christ's saying, John iii. 5. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

Ans. If baptism was ever Jewish, as our adversary grants, then because Christ came to *end* all Jewish ceremonies, water-baptism can bear no evangelical perpetuity. And if it should be objected, that it was used after the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost, I answer, so were circumcision, vows, purification, forbearing to eat things strangled, and blood: and the common practice of Christendom, so called, sufficiently tells us what is become of those observations. Using and instituting are two things. The apostles condescended, where they never commanded.

In the two first scriptures, which contain a commission, there is no water mentioned: that there is 'a baptism of the Holy Ghost,' I hope, all will grant: that such a baptism admits of no outward water, is plainly implied: and that it was the baptism of the Holy Ghost (and therefore not of water) which Christ intended, I will briefly prove.

First, This commission was some of the last words Christ spoke: that it is to be fulfilled, is certain: that they could not do it without power, is clear: that neither of those chapters mentions any such endowment,

ment, must be granted. Whither then must we go to fetch that account here omitted? I would desire my reader to turn to the first chapter of Luke's Acts of the apostles, where we shall find Christ's last words to his constant followers thus left upon record: "And being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence. When they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel? And he said unto them, it is not for you to know the times or seasons, which the Father has put into his own power: but ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight."^m Now if the promise of the Father was the pouring out of the Holy Ghost, and if the pouring out of the Holy Ghost be the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was that which qualified them to be his witnesses, as the whole place fully proves; then, "Go, and teach all nations," &c. in Matthew, and, "Go ye into all the world," in Mark, must not have been spoken before these words in the Acts, at least not to take place till they themselves had been baptized with the Holy Ghost; and consequently the baptism mentioned in that commission, must not have been a water-baptism, as John's was, but that of the Holy Ghost, which they were to be baptized with: so that the order of the words, at least in execution, if not in expression, must have been this, "John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall

^m Acts i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

" be

“ be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days
 “ hence: then go ye and teach all nations, baptizing
 “ them in (or rather *into*) the name of the Father, Son,
 “ and Holy Ghost: and lo, I am with you always
 “ unto the end of the world.” Nor is this incredible, when we consider, that without their so baptizing, it had been utterly impossible for them to have
 “ turned them from darkness to light, and from the
 “ power of Satan unto God.” And doubtless they might as well baptize with the Holy Ghost, as “ reconcile by the Word: for where the one was, the
 “ power of the other could not be wanting.

For the third scripture, though *water* be mentioned, yet *what* water? will be the question. That it is not meant of *outward* water, I offer several reasons. 1. To be born of water and of the Spirit, is no more than to be born of water, *or* of the Spirit, *and* being here explicative: for were it otherwise, and that by water were understood *external* water, this absurdity would inevitably follow, that the soul of man, which is *spiritual* and *internal*, could in part be regenerated by water *external* and *elementary*: but this place is excellently unfolded, by that notable passage of the apostle Paul in his epistle to Titus, chap. iii. 5. “ Not by works
 “ of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of
 “ regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;” where we not only have “ the washing of *regeneration*,” to parallel “ being born again of *water*,” (which, say we, must be as spiritual as the new birth it produceth) but also “ the renewing of the Holy Ghost,” to answer “ being born again of the Spirit;” that as the washing of regeneration, or renewing of the Holy Ghost, are synonymous, or expressions to the same purpose; so being born again of *water*, or being born again of the *Spirit*, are equivalent.

But if our adversary will have this water to be *material*, in honour of his baptism, let him never refuse the like liberty to us in construction of that great Water-baptist's own words; “ But he shall baptize
 “ you

"you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," that is, *material* fire. Mat. iii. 11. My judgment is, if that were the church of England's baptism, he had never been her son; though such sons are ready to christen many with that *fiery* baptism. But if such an interpretation be absurd, let him not esteem his own rational: and if it must be the *Holy Ghost* or *fire*, then let it be *water*, or *Spirit*; for indeed they are but so many words intimating the various operations of one Divine Power.

In short, John was but a forerunner, therefore not to be perpetuated: he was the *water*, but Christ the great *spiritual* Baptist: the former to decrease, the latter to increase: and the least in Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world, is greater than John; not than his private state, but outward administration.

Paul, whose commission was larger than any priest's in England, tells us, "He was not sent to baptize (with water) but to preach:" and instead of enjoining the practice of it upon others, "he thanks God that he "baptized but very few himself:" which surely he had never done, if it had been part of his commission, or the durable baptism of the gospel: for he had just reason to suspect some disaffected would make that ill use of his liberty, 'that it was to ingratiate and 'set up himself, being conscious that he had no authority for what he did.' This he farther gives us to believe in that pertinent passage to our purpose; "There is one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, "one baptism, one God and Father of all." If more baptisms than one, then more bodies, spirits, lords, faiths, gods, and fathers of all, "who were above "all, and through all, and in them all," unto whom Paul wrote. If this be absurd, and that there is but one baptism, I hope it will not be denied to be that of the Holy Ghost; which is both most suitable to the evangelical ministration, and the peculiar baptism

of Christ Jesus our Lord. I shall touch upon one passage more.

“The like figure whereunto, even baptism, also doth now save us;” as our modern translation has it. From which, though our adversary would infer, that ‘Water-baptism is to be used, as co-assistant with the answer of a good conscience, to salvation,’ (page 28, 29.) I doubt not unanswerably to maintain our foregoing assertion.

This verse admits of various readings in ancient copies, and divers interpretations by learned men. We shall a little examine the matter, that he may see we shall not refuse *learning*, where it may perform the office of an honest servant, not an usurper. $\tau\omega$ (some have it \circ or τ ; the modern Greek $\delta\mu\omega\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ καὶ ὑμᾶς (Augustin has it *vos*, and our old books, faith Zegerus) $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\iota\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ (which Vatablus makes the truth relative to the type *flood*. And faith Grotius, ‘*Vox αὐλιτύπτε est communis utrique relato, i. e. tam figuræ tribuitur quam rei per figuram significatæ; (signifying type and anti-type, or the thing signified by the type).*’ Erasmus hath it, ‘*cui nunc simile sive respondens baptismus.* (So that baptism may answer as the thing typified, not another type.) $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\iota\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$, says Dr. Hammond (a famous man of the English church) is certainly best rendered *antitype*: yet there be two different senses, sometimes contradictory; thus Zenophon and Hesy chius. Then destruction was by *outward* water, now salvation by *inward*: otherwise *pro* or *in lieu* of another, as $\alpha\upsilon\theta\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, he that supplies the consul’s place. So $\tau\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\lambda\iota\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ (as in an old copy in Oxford) is the *ark inward*, supplying the place of the *ark outward*. $\nu\upsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, which Cappellus understands to be *Baptismum internum, quo finis mortis & resurrectionis Christi participes. Hujus interni baptismi typus aliquot habemus in V. T. imprimis autem arcam diluvii, et arcam Noæ.* By inward baptism we are made partakers of Christ’s death and resurrection. Of this inward baptism we have several types in the Old Testament, of which *Noah’s ark* was one. Grotius

tius refers us to these scriptures for an apostolical exposition, Rom. vi. 3, 4. Ephes. iv. 5. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. all which refer to man's being "baptized" into Christ's death, his putting on of Christ, and to "the one Lord, one faith, one baptism." And indeed Beza shewed them the way, who will have it, that the baptism which answered to Noah's ark, was not *material water*, but the *power of Christ within*, which preserves us cleansed, and enables us to call on God with a good conscience. Nor is Dr. Hammond of a different judgment in this case, who not only will have ἀντίτυπον rendered *antitype*, but the baptism that is that antitype, answering to *Noah's ark*, to be 'the inward washing of mens consciences from pollution, and delivering them from the deluge of sin and destruction.'

Not only from all this do I conclude the baptism mentioned in that place to be the antitype, or truth, answering to the outward and typical salvation of Noah's ark, but for those reasons which were with me before my perusal of these authors, and which I shall now briefly offer. First, If ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα were but a type or figure, one type would answer another, which is not proper. 2dly, It were both to suppose, that the gospel were a state of figures, (which is the substance of all) and of such figures too, as are less demonstrative or significant; for, what is that sprinkling, baby-baptism (for dipper, or dipped, I suppose our adversary to be neither) to the words *deluge* and *Noah's ark*. 3dly, The baptism in the text, must be such an one as hath efficacy enough in it to *save*, which *outward water* cannot do: besides the word σώζει, or *saveth*, hath relation to Noah's ark, wherein the eight souls were saved; therefore the antitype, or truth answering to that, as-type. 4thly, It is such a baptism as saves by the power of Christ's resurrection, answerable to Rom. vi. 3, 4. "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? That like as Christ was raised up from the dead, by the glory of the Father; even so we also
" should

“ should walk in newness of life.” 5thly, And this the parenthesis in the verse undeniably proves, being an illustration of the baptism intended, “ not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,” or, as some have it, *interrogatio*, *ἰνερῶτημα*, inquisition, or enquiry, alluding to the oracle URIM and THUMMIM, by which men have boldness and access to God; so as to render the verse, “ *Cui etiam ex adverso oppositus, nos servat baptismus, non is quo carnis sordes abjiciuntur, sed is quo fit ut bona conscientia Deum interroget per resurrectionem Christi,*” i. e. ‘ To which the directly opposite baptism also now saveth us, not that by which the filth of the flesh is cast off, but that by which it is effected, that a good conscience may ask God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.’ From all which two things result; first, that the verse ought to be thus rendered, “ Answerable to which figure, baptism now also saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the account of a good conscience to God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.” And indeed the most disputable part of this verse is abundantly confirmed on our side, by the simplicity of the ancient English, French, and Spanish translators. And I wonder that any man of common sense, not greatly abused by prejudice or custom, can think, that the baptism mentioned should be that of *water*, when the middle of the verse provides this material distinction, “ Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh (the effect of outward water) but the answer of a good conscience to God,” (the fruits of the Holy Ghost alone) to that very end that people should not think so; I mean, that it was a *water-baptism*.

Secondly, it may not be improper for us to observe, that if one verse hath such variety of copies, readings, transpositions, and senses; as hath been noted, beside what we could yet produce; they are at a miserable pass for an universal, constant, and unerring rule, who

esteem the present scripture such, exclusive of the Spirit, which time, variety of transcribers, translators, interpreters, and expositors, have rendered so uncertain. But if we had been unprovided of all this to our defence, what has our adversary to do to charge us with a discontinuance of water-baptism, till he had first cleared his own opinion from popish innovation and invention? What scripture, or pure antiquity, has he for *infant-baptism*, one of the unscriptural and senseless ceremonies of his religion, about which such as he make more stir than about that of the Holy Ghost? A man may guess what a Christian he is, and how well he is versed in Christ's doctrine, who can call a little water, shed by a priest's hand, "the door into God's kingdom." How much is this short of the Romish priest's making his God, who says, 'The bread is Christ after consecration,' since Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever, saith, "HE is that door," which H. Hallywell will have his infant water-baptism to be.

§. 5. *Of the SUPPER.*

But he saith of us and the Familists, 'By the same diabolical spirit, wherewith they are possessed, they lay aside the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as a thing too carnal (page 30, 31).' In opposition to which he produceth Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. how that Christ "took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body: then he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it." St. Mark, chap. xiv. repeats the very same, and says, they all drank of it: but St. Luke, chap. xxii. 19, and St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24. added these words, "Do this in remembrance of me," which import both a commission and direction to use and continue them.'

Ans. It is granted, that Christ, eating the passover with his disciples, did familiarly represent that flesh

and blood which he gave for the world, that whosoever eat thereof should have life eternal abiding in them. Nor is this strange; for it was his familiar way of opening his deepest mysteries, and recommending the most excellent of all his commandments; witness his discourse concerning the blessed unity of Christ and his members, by the similitude of a vine and its branches; and both his washing his disciples feet, and requiring them to follow his example. John xiii.

5. 14.

That this practice was enjoined his disciples, is not warranted from Matthew, Mark, or "in remembrance of me," as our adversary observes: but that they should be Paul's also, as he affirms, is both an abuse of the scriptures, and them that read them: for these are the apostle's words, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup," &c. which amounts to no more than this, 'When ye do eat this supper, do it *worthily*;' so that there is no command to do it, though as often as they *did* do it, they were exhorted to do it discerningly: "as often as you do it," and 'do it often,' are differing sayings.

And that Luke's words do not perpetuate it, especially as now used, I shall prove. First, if it be but a *sacrament* or *sign*, as saith our adversary, then can it not of right continue longer than till the *thing signified* shall come. "Do this *till*," that is, 'When THAT is come, *till* the coming of which the sign was to be used, there remains no longer any institution.'

Now between all types and antitypes, shadows and substances, parables and morals, there must needs be some resemblance, or else the end of their being used will be lost to them, for whose sakes they were appointed: for instance, Christ is called a *door*, because no man comes to the Father, but *through* him: a *lion*, from his strength and dominion: a *lamb*, because of his innocency: a *vine*, because of that excellent fruit he brings forth: and lastly, he calls himself by the name of *bread*, because of that inward strength and nourishment such receive that feed spiritually upon him:

him: wherefore the substance shadowed out by this outward bread and wine, is no other than CHRIST, as the bread that came down from above, and that flesh and blood which all were to eat and drink of that would have eternal life, mentioned at large John vi. So that admitting of a command, it must be thus read, 'Do this till I come, who am the heavenly bread, and flesh and blood, that give eternal life to them that feed thereon;' which bread the apostle very well understood, when in the foregoing chapter to the Corinthians he thus delivered himself, "I speak to wife men, judge ye what I say: the cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? For we being many are one bread, and one body; for we are all *partakers* of that *one bread*," 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. And this Christ himself intimated in the following verse to that passage out of Matthew, "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." And I query if that was not made good, on the day of Pentecost, when scoffingly, yet truly (like Caiaphas in another case) several spectators said of the disciples, "They were full of new wine?" Acts ii. 13. Which was the beginning of the restoration of that kingdom of God to Israel, that the disciples a little before so weakly queried after.

In short, The Father's kingdom is *within*, Luke xvii. 20. What was that fruit then that was to be drank anew in that kingdom? Certainly it came from himself, the true vine, and must be of a spiritual and inward nature, like to the kingdom.

To conclude, If bread and wine be but a sign; and if things signified ought to resemble their signs; and if spiritual bread and wine mostly answer those visible signs; and if they are to be had in the kingdom of God; and if the kingdom of God be within; and that they who eat not that bread, and drink not that wine, have no life in them; then, because the apostles had life eternal in them, and we a measure of the same

in us, Christ, the heavenly bread and flesh, and wine and blood, was then, and is now, come; and consequently, the shadows of those good things (as to any institution) were and are at an end: and as there is but one Spirit, and one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father, one heavenly kingdom, one holy body; so but one bread, and but one cup, and but one communion and fellowship, and that is with the Father and the Son, by the Holy Ghost.

But here, as in the case of water-baptism, it will be objected, 'Why were they then afterwards used?'

Ans. The practices of good men, though in things temporary, are many times too greedily received, and too long doted upon, by those who desire to be reputed their followers. Any thing once becoming customary is hard to be left: several Jewish ceremonies the Holy Ghost thought fit to be dispensed with for a season, that were never to be perpetuated. But what has our adversary, and the several sorts of Protestants in the world, to do with baptism and the supper, and deny that qualification and commission the apostles had? They will never stand our enquiry about their call; which, they know, we have great cause to scruple, indeed to deny; for all must, or should know, that was either *immediate*, or *mediate* and *successive*. If immediate, then they must necessarily confess to a commission upon inspiration, and then *Quakers*. If mediate and successive, then either *beside* the church of Rome, or *through* the church of Rome: not *beside* the church of Rome, because she cannot prove any regular ordination, or uninterrupted succession, either as to faith or discipline. If *through* the church of Rome, then they own the ordination of a church they renounce, and grant *her* the keys, whom they have writ against for these six-score years, under the name of Whore of Babylon, and Mother of Harlots, and all abominations of the earth. Can that which you account a corrupt fountain; bring forth clean streams? Will men seek ordination at the hands of that church they resolve to employ it against? Has she forfeited her

her *religion*, and not her *power*? When did ever God make over his authority by such an entail? If mens errors and vices do not unminister them, it will follow, that they may be ill *Christians*, but very good *ministers*. For shame! never renounce the Roman church as false, if her ordination must be true: for what has power to make a minister, must be allowed to have power both to instruct and conclude him in what he is to minister: wherefore never let any own her to have heaven's keys of church-authority, and then deny her as heretical: for wherever any church or people are truly such, that church or people have thereby forfeited all right thereunto: and as the contrary opinion has long enriched the pope's coffers, so the unwary concessions of some certain Protestants thereto, have too evidently given away a great share of that good old cause.

I have dwelt longer upon these particulars than my adversary's weakness could deserve at my hands; but their information has induced me to it, who are assaulted by the envious endeavours of our several adversaries, that daily seek how to misrepresent us, and our most evangelical principles.

C H A P. IV.

His third chapter examined, which consists of the holiness of times, places, things, and persons under the gospel.

§. I. Of the SABBATH-DAY.

HIS accusation is, 'That the Familists and Quakers put no difference between one day and another, the Sabbath no more than another day; that many times they follow their usual trades on a Sunday.' Pag. 34, 37, 38, 39.

Ans. What the Familists did is nothing to us (if they did so). But sure I am he has abused the Qua-

kers; for it is well known, that in what country soever they live, they follow the practice of the apostles, in assembling together on the first day of the week: they do it constantly and reverently. Who most profane that day, the Quakers, or the sons and daughters of the church of England? Their feasts, drunkenness, wantonness, gaming, and other recreations, as they call them, are so many demonstrations, to help every common understanding to a resolution in the point. And to say, 'That we many times follow our usual trades on that day,' is a plain untruth, the whole world knows better, though we do not judaize; for worship was not made for time, but time for worship: nor is there any day holy of itself, though holy things may be performed upon a day.

But he tells us, 'Yes; for the fourth commandment being as moral as the rest, and that requiring a sabbath-day, the sabbath-day is perpetuated also.'

Ans. But this hurts us not, since the Jewish-sabbath is not observed by the church of England.—But if a sabbath-day be moral, because mentioned in the fourth commandment; then, because the Jews seventh-day sabbath is there particularly mentioned, *their* sabbath must be only moral, and consequently unalterable.

But says he, 'No; for that the apostles, and succeeding church of God, may very reasonably dispose of us in matters of this nature; and it is obligatory from the ten commandments, every one of which is moral, and binds all Christians still; and therefore the church of England (though these rebellious Quakers disown their mother) doth make it part of her liturgy.'

Ans. If it be as moral as all the rest, (as it must be if it be moral, because of its being there) they could no more dispense with it, than with any other commandment; to call that day moral, and make it alterable, is ridiculous. It is true the apostles met upon the first day, and not on the seventh; but as that released us from any pretended morality of the seventh, so neither did it confer any morality upon the first:
yea,

yea, so far were they from it, that not one speaks any such thing; but Paul much the contrary: "Let no man judge you in meats or in drinks, or in respect of an holy-day, or of new moons, or of the *Sabbath-days*, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." Col. ii. 17, 18. The outward sabbath was typical of the great rest of the gospel; which such come to, who cease from their own work, and in whom the works of God's new creation come to be accomplished.

And though I should acknowledge the other commands to be moral, yea, and times too, both respecting God's worship, and the creature's rest; yet there is no more reason for the morality of that day, because amongst those commandments, than for the ceremonialness and abrogation of several moral precepts, because scattered up and down among the ceremonial laws recorded in Leviticus.

I grant the apostles met on that day; but must it therefore be moral? Certainly, the scriptures silence in this particular must either conclude a great neglect against those holy men, in not recommending and enjoining more expressly both water, bread, wine, and holy days, in their several epistles to the churches; or warrant us in our belief concerning the temporariness of those things. Let not our adversary reproach us for not believing that to be durable, which was wearing off and vanishing in those days; but soberly consider, that the practice of the best men, especially in such cases, is no institution, though sometimes it may be an example. But I perceive he makes bold, like an irreverent son, with his ghostly fathers, who, through his reflections upon us, severely rebukes them. Has he so quickly forgot the 'Book of Sports,' and who put it out? when not to profane this sabbath with dancings, riots, and revels, had been enough to render a man an enemy to Cæsar, and a schismatical Puritan to the church? If he be not satisfied with this, I refer him to Calvin's Institutes, Bp. Ironside, and Dr. Peter Heylin, concerning the *non-morality* of the sabbath;

sabbath; and a great wonder it is, that John Calvin and Peter Heylin should be of one opinion in any thing.

§. 2. Place of God's worship.

He is very angry with us for denying a more than ordinary sanctity to places, and says, 'That we esteem a church no more than a stable; that the Jews, Heathens, and Turks have their synagogues, temples, and mosques to pray in: that Christ went to a prayer-house, Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13. Where Paul and others went out to a river's side, where an oratory was reported to be.'

Ans. We value the *true* church more than a stable; but we value a good stable before a false church, as such. But I suppose he means by church, an *house*; and then I must tell him, that I esteem a stable better than no house, but a good house better than a stable. But why is a stable such an ill-favoured place? Has he forgot "that the Head of the *true* church first lodged "in one," when there was no room for him in a whole synagogue, yet room enough for a company of cavilling murdering Scribes and Pharisees? There is no doubt but the Jews had synagogues enough, "for "it was out of them the apostles were to be haled," because of their testimony against those that were in them. It is true, the Heathens had temples, and the Turks have their mosques. I like the comparison and the proof very well; for I take some of your steeple-house guests to be as good Christians, as some of the worst sort of them. It was the old heathenish spirit, which, under the cloak of Christianity, both erected those stately edifices, instituted that pompous worship, and exacted those vast revenues, that have burthened the world these many ages; whilst the pure apostolical spirit and religion have been as driven into a sackcloth and wilderness estate.

That Christ went to a *prayer-house*, and that Paul and the church met in an *oratory* by the river side, is a pretty rattle for children, and may pass as unquestionably with those who are willing to be cheated, as the story of St. Dennis's body, that went a mile without his head, and St. Winifred's head a great way without her body, to a Papist.

But he affirms, 'That the first Christians had distinct places to meet in, and that they called them 'churches.' Pag. 47, 48, 49.

Ans. Christ went not to the synagogue, or the temple, to eat the passover: it is certain that the twelve met in an *upper room*, upon their return from Christ's ascension: and it is said, "When the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place," (Acts ii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) at what time that excellent glory appeared; but here is no mention made of either *temple* or *synagogue*: one would have thought those *conventicles* (for so they were then called, and since) should not have borne away the glory and honour of that holy solemnity from those cathedral and canonical places: what fullen separation did the false Jew then, as well as the false Christian now, repute the like practice! Certainly this ran retrograde to the grain and humour of that age; and the poor apostles were therefore esteemed as great *Fanaticks*, and as much reproached as any of the *Quakers* in this. I must also confess, they continued daily with one accord in the temple, Acts ii. 46, but they broke not bread there; that was done καὶ οἴκῳ, that is, "in the house," if he will have it so, instead of "from house to house," to be sure, it was not "from church to church," as he would have the house called; for then we should understand the following verse thus, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved," that is, 'to the house.'

But I see no reason why he should fall so hard with his criticisms upon καὶ οἴκῳ, and let καὶ ἡμέραν in the same verse alone: for, as Valla and Erasmus well observe, καὶ οἴκῳ, is as well rendered *per singulas domos*,
or

or *dameſticatim*, i. e., “from houſe to houſe,” as *אב' ה'ב'ט' per ſingulos dies, ſive quotidie*, i. e. ‘daily,’ or from day to day.’

But he will needs have it that the apoſtle, 1 Cor. xi. meant by *church* the *houſe*, when he ſaid, “Have ye “not houſes to eat and drink in, or deſpiſe ye the “church of God?” His reaſon is, if it may be thought one; ‘becauſe the apoſtle, in the 18th verſe, ‘ſays, “When ye come in the church;” and in the ‘20th verſe, “when ye come together into one place;” ‘ſo that the word church ſignifies the place.’

Anſ. “When ye come together in the church,” ſignifies no more than in the “congregation or aſſembly,” or “among yourſelves as a church;” (obſerve well the margin): and to make the *church* allude to *place* in the 20th verſe, is a baſe wreſting of our adverſary’s; for there is no Greek word there for *place*.

But he thinks he has one argument more, ‘from ‘Paul’s greeting Prifcilla and Aquila, and the church ‘that is in their houſe,’ Rom. xvi. 3, 5. And again, ‘ſending ſalutation from them;’ “Aquila and Prifcilla ſalute you much in the Lord, with the church “in their houſe.” 1 Cor. xvi. 29.

Anſ. If this be to prove an houſe to be a church, I never ſaw the like. It ſeems we muſt read, after his dialect, thus, “Greet Prifcilla and Aquila, and the “houſe that is in their houſe.” But in contradiction to all this, he tells us in the next page, ‘By the ‘church, at ſuch a man’s houſe, muſt be meant the ‘whole congregation of the ſaints aſſembled at ſuch

¶ Vatabl. Eccleſiam vel congregationem.

Clarius. Ille conventus in eccleſiam non eâ cauſâ fit: hoc quod facitis in contemptum eccleſiæ Dei redundat, & eorum pudorem qui minus habent.

Zeger. Confunditis eos qui non habent quod offerant & manducent.

Cameron. Dei eccleſia hic privatis ædibus non opponitur. Dei eccleſiam contemnere eſt pudore afficere tenuiores, qui magnam Eccleſiæ partem conſtituebant.

Locus loco opponitur grammaticè, non logicè, i. e. church or congregation. The church is not oppoſed to private houſes. To deſpiſe the church, is to make aſhamed the poor of it.

‘a man’s

'a man's house;' and truly, reader, I think so too. But if the saints *met* to *make* the church, then the *house* is not the *church*, nor indeed can an house *meet* together in an house.

But now I will tell this defamer of us, That though we have no stately *basilicos*, or *palace-churches*, as some call them, beautified with painting, images, flags, carved and engraved work, and built to the east, in imitation of the heathen idolatrous temples; yet, like unto the apostles and primitive Christians, "we assembled from house to house," and, if he will have it so, there are several convenient publick places on purpose to meet and perform divine worship in.

§. 3. Of tithes.

His next section, and, as became a careful greedy hireling, by much the largest of any in his book, is employed in the defence of the priests maintenance, the *fine quâ non* of their calling. From page 51 to 69, his first argument is, 'That God will have a rent and tribute paid him. That thus he dealt with the children of Israel, from whom he reserved a tithe to himself; and that in Abraham's time tithes to Melchizedeck were paid, after whose order Christ was made a priest.'

Ans. The tithes that were paid Melchizedeck, were but of the spoils Abraham took from his enemies; and that not by compulsion, but choice. Melchizedeck was king of Salem: king of peace, priest of the Most High God: he *freely* administered bread and wine to Abraham to refresh him; and when he had done, prayed, and praised God for him, without bargain or hire: whereupon Abraham gave him the tithe of all, as a token of his thankfulness.

Now let the priests of England prove themselves to be of Melchizedeck's offspring, men of peace, priests of the Most High God, and let them but minister to us of the living bread and wine, and wrap up all with such prayers and praises to God for us as he will accept;

cept; and when all this is done, if we refuse them the tithe of our spoils, let us be recorded for ungrateful men: but whilst priests and men of contention, hirelings, that seek gain from their quarter, prepare war against them that put not into their mouths, are not priests of the Most High God's anointing, and who, instead of giving us bread and wine, oppress us unto death for a four-penny Easter-reckoning; and in lieu of prayers and praises to God for us, anathematize, whip, imprison, and banish us for impostors, hereticks, men inspired by Satan, and such like, let it not be wondered at that a poor Quaker has a testimony against such a priest; and that he rather chuseth to die (unjustly his prisoner) than pay tithes to him, that is an usurper of the name, authority, and office of a true evangelical minister.

And for his instance of the land of Canaan, it brings no obligation upon us. England is no Canaan, neither as to its acquisition, nor distribution: when the Saxons came into England, God reserved no such rents. And if it be well argued of the apostle, (Heb. vii. 12.) "that because the law is changed, the priest-hood is also;" then certainly it is no ill consequence, that the "way of maintenance" must be changed too, at least as to institution.

'But,' says our adversary, in the apostle's words, 1 Cor. ix. 14. "The Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

Ans. We are contented with this, but the priests are not. They cannot prove themselves ministers of the gospel, unless by that never-failing argument of human law and force, if yet that can prove them such. Besides, here is no stint or method *what* or *how*? it is left to God's witness; but that they dare not leave themselves with: earthly powers must first make them ministers, and then get them maintenance. But there is not a word of Paul's "working with his own hands," nor Christ's explanation of "the labourer is worthy of his hire;" to wit, "that he should eat what is set before him, and, Melchizedeck like, bless the house,

"house, if worthy:" nor do I hear of so much as one *itinerary-preacher*; who, to be sure carried no tithes upon his back, as the priests of our days do into their barn: they sued, excommunicated, imprisoned none unto death for hire's sake.

He that minds God more than his belly, shall never want for his belly; for the authority of him in whose name he goes, makes sufficient way for his subsistence, without the force of imperial decrees; "The cattle upon a thousand hills are the Lord's." The primitive Christians paid no *tithes* that we read of; yet they forbore not to administer freely to the necessities of those who were faithful labourers and travellers amongst them. The law that settled that maintenance, was "the law in the heart, and the witness of God in the conscience," to which Paul particularly desired to be made manifest. It [is true, about four hundred years after Christ, the then Christians began to lay up the *tithe* of their substance, towards the maintenance of such members and ministers of the church as wanted. But this was out of their own *free will*, not as *settled maintenance*, nor by *compulsion*, as our countryman, Jo. Selden, a learned antiquary, tells us.

But our adversary says, 'That Christian emperors, kings, princes, and other nobles, by the all-wise Providence inspiring their hearts, have given houses, lands, and tithes, for the maintenance of the ministers of the gospel, and secured such possessions. And therefore, such are sacrilegious, and robbers of God, who with-hold them: such tenths being as much the ministers, as the ninths are the peoples.'

Ans. I perceive the priest allows *inspiration* for *tithes*, though we are Familists, Quakers, and Fanaticks, for abetting the doctrine of inspiration in the worship of God. O mercenary, O hireling and irreverent saying! that God should be more concerned for carnal than spiritual things, and inspire men about tithes, and not about divine worship. Who but a dark and mer-

* Gratian. *Caus.* p. 16. R. C. Dec. Selden, c. 6. p. 80, 81.

cenary

cenary priest could have uttered so impious an expression?

I grant, that when Austin came into England, he desired tithes of Ethelbert, as I take it, king of Kent: but the king's care of his people, and the aversion of their humour to all encroachments, disappointed the monk. However, 'Time bringing forth murder and adultery, they brought forth tithes.' For Offa killing Ethelbert, gave a tenth of his goods to pacify his ghost. And Edgar, being greatly in love with Ethelwald's wife, to obtain his end, murdered him; upon which the Pope sending forth his bull, Edgar, to appease him, confirmed to the church the tenth of all the fruit of his field and cattle, to them and their successors. And as murder and whoredom introduced them, so the cunning and covetousness of the clergy have continued them: for when the heptarchy became a monarchy, the priests evermore would thrust in for a share with the conqueror; and this wrong way came tithes to be the priests right, as he calls it.

But let this pretended Protestant answer me, if he dare:

Was the church then degenerated or no? Was it not a time of popery? Did not the first martyrs except against her? Was it lawful for princes to give away other men's goods, upon the account, and for the pretended expiation, of their sins?

Could the giving of them atone? Is it not acknowledging of the Pope's power to absolve? Is it not a buying or bribing off the guilt of sin against Almighty God, by gifts to a mortal man, and those extorted from poor people too? Is this Protestant doctrine? But, above all, is this instituting tithes upon inspiration? Hell her own self was the foundress of these things*. He may remember that there is better antiquity for that voice, which the ancients report to have been heard that day Constantine conferred those large

* Selden, p. 67. * Bp. Jewel on Hagg. *Hodie venenum infusum in Eccl.*

endowments

endowments upon the church, than for the institution of tithes and rich benefices; I mean that voice through the heavens, This day is poison poured into the church. Since which time it has been observed by the best princes, wisest counsellors, and most moderate clergymen", 'That the enrichment and impowering of church-officers, has been the canker of the church, and the moth of the state.'

It is not my business to write an history: but I recommend to the inquisitive reader, Wickliff's Remonstrance; the Plowman's Complaint; Chaucer's Plowman's Tale; Walter Brute, and W. Thorpe's Examination, in the Martyrology; Pareus; History of the Waldenses; and Jo. Selden, men that ought not to pass for, or be reputed, Fanaticks, especially by such who call themselves Protestants.

I shall only say, first, That they were the people's wholly. 2dly, It is now the people's labour, more than the priest's land, that brings the increase: and men ought not to be constrained to pay those they never hired; nor to labour for those that profit them not. 3dly, They were given to expiate murder and adultery, and uphold an idolatrous clergy, upon Protestant principles; and therefore to be removed, as were the high places and groves, idolatrously dedicated among the Jews. 4thly, Because it is most reasonable for a man to believe according to his own conscience, and not according to another man's conscience. "It is unrighteous to persecute a man for not maintaining that religion, which in his conscience he believes to be false; as well as that it is the badge of a false religion to persecute for maintenance." 5thly, Though they may have been confirmed by some princes, yet, considering the end to which they were given, to wit, for the maintenance of a certain sort of religious order, now exploded, whose successors these are not, (and so the ancient constitution broken) we cannot see any reason why they should

* Cobham, Bernard, Tindal, Frith, Charl. V. Emp.
remain;

remain; unless any thing commanded is to be obeyed, because commanded, and not because in itself lawful.

Two things I cannot but observe. First, That he affirms, 'The clergy of England have not a tenth; much complaining that every one snips from them;' *cujus contrarium verum*; for they not only snip, but slice, from every body else. I commend to his perusal a pamphlet, intituled, "*Omnia comesta à Belo*," where he will find a very particular account of the revenues of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, canons, prebends, parsons, vicars, petty-canons, singing-men, choiristers, organists, gospellers, epistlers, vergers, chancellors, and their attendants, delegates, registers, and their clerks. Gentlemen apparitors, inferior apparitors, proctors, &c. I doubt not but *fifteen hundred thousand* pounds a year will be the most modest account that computation will admit of; which is but double the revenue that former monarchs have had for the maintenance of their family, crown and dignity, their civil-justice, armies, navies, and costly embassies. If all this be to resemble Christ Jesus and his apostles, the scripture has given us a very wrong account of him and them.

The second thing I would observe is this, That he has the ignorance and confidence to argue from the super-excellency of Christ's ministration to that of Moses; 'that the maintenance of the ministers of the gospel should proportionably exceed the maintenance of the priests under the law.'

Ans. But certainly he is one of the first men that made this wild interpretation of the glory of the latter house excelling the glory of the former; as if Christ's house were outward, or his glory either! Would we have one outward temple figure out another? as if Christ should bring in another Levitical law to excel that of Moses! Certainly the New Jerusalem, after this man's rate of disputing, must be an outward structure of material sapphires, emeralds, jaspers, &c. But there is a Pope and a Mahomet in his belly, whether

ther he knows it or no : for these fleshly conceits first set them to work upon their pompous worship, neglecting the holy, pure, self-denying and spiritual religion of Christ Jesus and his apostles, who neither practised nor set up any shadowy and ceremonial worship, nor settled themselves in splendid livings, to lead easy, quiet, and voluptuous lives. " Freely they received, freely they gave ;" not as our adversary ridiculously understands it, ' that they gave their miracles, but sold their preaching : ' the spirit of a pompous antichrist indeed, who pleads for *state* under a self-denying gospel ! Christ's kingdom is not of this world ; and yet our adversary pleads for the grandeur of a worldly worship, ministry, and maintenance : we may allow him therefore and his tribe to be worldly Christians, but not true followers of that Jesus, who said, when he was in the world, " I am not of the " world ;" which leads me to the next section concerning the ministry.

§. 4. Of Ministers of the Gospel.

In defence of the church of England's ministry, he tells us, (p. 70, 71, 73, 74.) ' That they have, first, ' the testimony of their own conscience, that they are ' furnished to that office. 2dly, The outward call of ' the church, by imposition of hands and prayers.'

Ans. If the ministers of the church of England have the testimony of their conscience, it must be either a true or a false testimony. If a *false*, then not *truly* called, upon our adversary's principles : If *true*, then infallibly so ; and consequently, both every man hath an infallible witness in his own conscience ; and the preparation and call of this witness is the inward call to the ministry. Now how this can be without revelation and inspiration I know not. But it seems, ministerial qualification must be judged of by the witness in the conscience, which is the overthrow of the priest's cause and doctrine : but I deny that the priests act upon this inward testimony ; for they are afraid of

being made manifest to the conscience: and when we urge this inward manifestation, they cry out, with our adversary, enthusiasm, familism, quakerism! but if this must be the alone judge of qualification, let him for shame give over vilifying our public labourers, and incensing our superiors against us, (who honestly plead conscience in the case,) and us for refusing the national priesthood, which we believe, in the presence of God, angels and men, to be not so qualified. For covetousness, bargaining, stealing their neighbours words, preaching *their* experiences, not their *own*, not knowing experimentally whereof they affirm, nor turning people to righteousness, but persecuting them that love it, and daubing sinners with untempered mortar, are altogether inconsistent with it.

For the 'laying on of hands,' it is well known to be a Jewish ceremony: and we read that Saul and Barnabas preached, before the apostles laid hands upon them. Besides, it is not every body's hands will serve; they must be men inspired, upon our enemies concessions, and not every soul fift. Nor did it give authority; but, as many other Jewish ceremonies, it was made use of to *express* that mission which had a more inward and spiritual ground. They were named apostles from one of the meanest offices that belonged to the temple; not lord primates, lord archbishops, lord bishops, may it please your grace, may it please your lordship, right reverend fathers in God, &c. These things came from the *Pope*, and thither they will and must return.

To conclude: because our adversary tells us, that the church, from the days of the apostles, has had a successive apostleship and ministry to confer, whether he will or no, he must imply, 'that there has been a true apostolical church ever since;' which is to give the lie to the Holy Ghost, that prophesied of a falling away, and a great apostacy. 2 Thes. ii.

2dly. That if the ministry of the church of England be lawfully descended, and are successors of the apostles, and so primitive ministers, they must be aposto-

apostolically qualified: but they are not so apostolically qualified, either as to the work of God in themselves, the gift of the holy spirit, daily information, the effect of their ministry, that patience, meekness, plain-dealing, perseverance, godly hospitality, continual labour, and self-denying conversation; consequently not lawfully descended, nor true successors of the apostles and primitive ministers.

Nor do we think it such 'an intolerable presumption, for mechanicks and tradesmen to preach the 'gospel,' as he would have it: for we well remember, that those who believed and followed the Son of God, were reproached by the Scribes and Pharisees, the learned and national teachers of the Jews, for *illiterate* persons;" crying out in that day, "Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees, believed on him? but *this* people, who know not the law, are accursed?" It was that generation that called him and his disciples so often, "This fellow; away with this fellow; this pestilent fellow," after the rate our adversary doth treat us, as we may have occasion anon to observe. In short, Peter and John were found unlearned. Ouzelius, in his animadversions on Minutius Felix, saith, 'That as the Gentiles did object to the Christians their *rude stile, ill-bred language*, and their being *destitute* of all *address* or *civil salutation*, calling them *rusticks* and *clowns*; so did the Christians, by way of irony and contempt, term them the *well-bred*, the *eloquent*, and the *knowing*:'* This he proves by ample testimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Isidorus, Pelusiotia, Theodoret, and others.

In the constitutions of Clemens Romanus' (as supposed) it is enjoined, 'Abstain from all the books of the Gentiles.' Also the council of Carthage had an expresse canon against "reading heathen authors:"

* John vii. 48, 49. Mat. xi. 24. 26. 61. 71. * John ix. 29.
 Acts xxii. 22. chap. xxiv. 5. chap. iv. 13. † Const. Clem.
 Rom. lib. i. Conc. Carth. dist. 37. Cap. Episc. Jac. Laur.
 de lib. gent. p. 40, 41. Card. de Sap. lib. 2.

then Aristotle, and all that philosophy, which fits priests at both universities.

Gratian hath also such like passages as these, by way of complaint. 'We see that the priests of the Lord, neglecting the gospels and the prophets, read comedies or play-books, and sing love-verses,' &c.

Cardan tells, 'That Gregory, though a Pope, burnt several lascivious Latin authors, as Cæcilianus Affranus, Nævius Licinius,' &c. Nor had Plautus, Martial and Terence, now school-books, escaped him, could he have helped it. In like manner Gregory Nazianzen, the father, suppressed several Greek authors, as Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, &c.

And Petrus Bellonius,² that inquisitive traveller, when at Mount Athos, where lived six thousand *καλοίεροι* in monasteries, did not so much as find (no nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the conversation of these poets: for though they had several manuscripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet, historian, or philosopher. That they anathematized such priests as studied poesy, or transcribed books not treating of religion.

And Dominicus à Soto,³ strongly pleads not only the liberty of every man's teaching any good that he knows, but that 'it is his duty to teach it.'

Machiavel assures us, 'the first promoters of Christianity commanded all poets and historians, which treated of the Gentiles vain conversation and worship, to be burned.'

Farther, concerning the illiterateness, meanness, and novelty, which the Gentiles objected against the Christians, see 'Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity.'

By all which it appears, that the Quaker-preachers are nevertheless orthodox for being ignorant in human sciences; since the most orthodox preachers have been

² Pet. Bell. obs. l. 1. c. 35. Ib. 40. ³ Dom. Sot. in 4. Cent. diff. 5. q. 1. Art. 10. p. 154. Mach. disp. lib. 2. c. 5.

generally

generally such, and that both before and after the coming of Christ.

In short, That ministry which is experimental and powerful, for the turning of many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, is the only true and evangelical ministry; and such an one we both own and enjoy, blessed be the name of our God for ever!

C H A P. V.

His fourth chapter considered: Quakery (as he calls it) no Sadducism, as he would suggest. His measures of us wrong.

HIS great ill-will to the Quakers puts him upon flinging any thing upon them that he thinks will stick; at least that he would have to do so.^b We must this turn be, with all, Familists, Sadducees; but the fierce will of the man has precipitated him into a strange mistake: hear him.

‘H. N. owns no other immortality than the continuance of his doctrine; nor judgment-seat of Christ, nor heaven, nor hell, but what are in this life. The Quakers,’ says he, ‘do the like; for T. Foster says, in a book called ‘A Guide to the Blind,’ “that the second appearance of Christ is in spirit, to end sin, and finish transgression.”

Now if this proves the agreement, I never saw the like; taking for granted what he represents H. N. to have held; in which I know he belies him. Is there no difference between saying, ‘that Christ’s second appearance is in the Spirit,’ and denying ‘Immortality, eternal judgment, heaven and hell?’ O hideous consequence and comparison! But why is it such false doctrine to say, that Christ’s second coming is spiritual? Shall he ever come so fleshly as before?

^b Page 75, 76, 77, 78.

Is not he glorified? After what manner was it he promised to come, when he said, "Some standing here shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man come in his kingdom." Mat. xvi. 28. "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you: yet a little while and the world sees me no more; but ye see me, because I live, ye live also. He that is with you shall be in you," John xiv. 17, 18. And when the apostle Paul said, "Though I have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth I know him so no more: when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me." I ask, if this was not both a second and a spiritual appearance? Certainly it must be another appearance from the former, therefore a *second*: and it must be a spiritual one, because it is unreasonable to believe that Christ, as to his bodily appearance, could be all this to his disciples and followers; therefore, his *second* appearance is *spiritual*.

And for judgment, immortality, heaven and hell in this life, were not our adversary a senseless novice in these matters, his own doctors would teach him, 'That there shall be no other judgment, immortality, heaven or hell hereafter, than what every one has some measurable sense or earnest of in this life.' From hence he is so unjust to us, and H. N. too, as to give out to the world, 'We both deny all future immortality, judgment, heaven or hell.' I have declared the utmost of the thing, and doubt not but time will make him greatly ashamed of his undertakings.

'But G. Fox, the Sadducee,' says he, 'holds, the soul is a part of the essence and being of God; therefore his conclusion is unquestionable;' or to that purpose.

I am very ready to think the devil grievously angry with that *good man*: and indeed he has reason for it, (if I may say, that the devil can have reason for any thing he does) for he hath shrewdly brow-beaten his

cause in the world, and a great instrument has God made him of noble, and valiant, and durable acts among the sons of men: and we shall so much the more respect and honour him, by how much untoward spirits seek to bear him down in the minds of people. But to answer our adversary: How comes it he never quotes when he cites, I mean *page* his references? Does he think we are bound to peruse a folio to defend any passage from his random reflections? What is he for a man, that he treats us so *à la negligence*; with this contemptuous neglect? Does he conceit people beholden to him for his slanders without proof, or that any thing against a Quaker is evidence enough? But I will tell the man, he mistakes G. F. for the purport of his words is to shew, 'That the life ' God breathes into the soul of man, by which man ' comes to live to God, is something of the Divine ' Being;' not that the soul, as a created capacity, without that inspiration, is a part of God, or of his Divine Being: and so far candour (that keeps the eye clear) would have let him see, had not prejudice, and a desire of misrepresenting and running us down, hurried him beyond the bounds of all moderation: nor is he alone in the matter; for many learned rabbies, and modern orthodox divines (as they are called and reputed) have affirmed the same. Let it be truth for their sakes, if not for his.

In short, were we of the mind he would have people to think we are, of all men none would be so miserable: what! suffer in this world, because of our faith and hope in the life of the other; and yet deny the very end of that hope, faith, and eternal life, which alone bears us over the troubles of this temporal one? I am persuaded all moderate persons will think better of us.

C H A P. VI.

He endeavours, in his fifth chapter, to prove us inconsistent with the good of civil magistracy. Our adversary's reason too short for his envy. Swearing not lawful.

HAD not this chapter been found among the rest, I might perhaps have taken him for some zealous churchman, vexed only at the increase of the poor Quakers, on a mere religious score. But when I see him wilfully mistaken, and purposely characterizing them enemies to government, and that to the insecurity of civil magistrates, I perceive what he would be at, and that nothing will serve him below our throats. He has multiplied words unnecessarily; these two, 'Hang them,' would have both explained and perhaps gratified his mind better.

He delivers it as a fundamental of the Quakers religion, 'That they testify against proud and lofty magistrates, who rule not for God, but for themselves:' to which, as a dangerous doctrine, he opposeth the apostle Peter's exhortation; "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well;" crying out, 'Is not this a doctrine fitted to stir up sedition and rebellion; and that such are only magistrates in our account that are righteous in our esteem. If a magistrate be wicked, obedience,' says he, 'is still due to him.'

Ans. True; but not to that which is wicked; for that were to open a door to all the impiety a Nero could be guilty of. But what contradiction is there betwixt the apostle's language and the Quakers? Can any sober person think the apostle Peter exhorted the

churches to believe evil magistrates to be good ones? or prove lofty magistrates, who rule not for God, fit to be obeyed *therein*? This were to understand, as if the apostle meant, that such as rule not for God, punish evil-doers, and praise them that do well: a contradiction! If our faith be dangerous, the scripture must be in question. Must a reproving of evil be a disowning of magistracy? It seems then that magistrates are not to be reprov'd, let their practices be never so exorbitant. Is there no difference between our dislike of the unjust act of a Julian, and our rebellion against just authority? If shewing men their evils, be disrespect; and a reprehension of them as unchristian, be rebellion; we must read religion backwards. But God deliver all magistrates from such counsellors, and us from such enemies.

But that which is very remarkable, is the contradiction he gives himself, and the injustice he shews to us; who in one page says, 'We would destroy all magistrates, not of our own opinion:' and in the very next gives it for our judgment, though with great dislike, 'That magistrates ought not to impose opinions in matters of religion;' as if we were such wretches, as to deny that power unto magistrates, which we would tyrannically use ourselves.

But he thinks he has enough against us in this expression, 'All governors ought to be accountable to the people, and to the next succeeding rulers, for all their actions, which may be enquired into upon occasion.' 'This (says our adversary, with a great rant) borders upon treason, respecting his majesty the king of England.'

Ans. But what if he was not then in *England*, but a sort of people that held this very principle, and who had sworn to God, before angels and men, to maintain it, and broke their solemn oaths? Was it not *argumentum ad hominem*, to such a generation? And does not our adversary know, that there are elective governments in the world, and annual choice of officers

cers in our own country, that are accountable both to the people and their successors?

But since he has brought the king of England's name on the stage, upon this occasion, I shall briefly tell him and the world two things, and let men relish them as they please. First, That it is not for the interest or honour of his government, for any to be over-officious in the enlarging his prerogative beyond those bounds, which the excellent fundamental laws of England have circumscribed the whole government with. No prince's crown in Europe stands more firm than his, upon English law: the law gives both right and might. It has been the part of such as dare not trust their lives and actions with the law, to whisper unlimited power into the ears of princes; but their ultimate aim was not their sovereign's greatness, but their own protection. We are no sycophants; yet we fear God, and honour the king. Secondly, It is not our business to meddle with government; but to obey, or suffer, for conscience-sake: can our adversary ask more? Several of us have been the faithful servants both of him and his father; and God knows, our kindness is not changed with our religion, though it admits not of our former way of shewing it. And this I may truly say in general, that not only our principle leads to no such nice and busy meddlings, but we are actually unconcerned in any such things: we speak not this out of fear or flattery; the truth has placed us far above both: but knowing the world will never be good till every one mends one; and that God's grace has therefore universally appeared, and yet doth, in the hearts of men; it is both our desire, duty and practice, to endeavour after that holy, righteous, and innocent life it leads to, and that as well for others as ourselves.

Of SWEARING,

But he says, (page 93) ' inasmuch as we refuse to swear before a lawful magistrate, we contradict the
' word

‘ word of God, and throw away the greatest tie any
‘ prince hath upon his subjects;’ insinuating as if we
had been dabbling with the Jesuits in this matter.

Ans. It is strange that such an illiterate sort of
‘ mechanicks, and rustick rabbies,’ as he is pleased to
call us, should hold such correspondence with one of
the most learned classes in the world! But as there is
more difference between us and the Papists, than the
Protestants and the Papists, by how much the Protest-
ants have many things that are Popish, and we have
not; so have I ever found these silly thread-bare slan-
ders to be the refuge of shallow heads and weak causes.
But I would have all know, as I have elsewhere said,
‘ The ground of swearing is either through distrust of
‘ honesty in him that swears, or weakness in him to
‘ whom the oath is made.’ The first takes in all the
swearing that is now in the world; the last, those oaths
God condescended to make to the Jews. So that it is
either an extraordinary way of evidence, to awe wit-
nesses into truth; or an extraordinary way of promif-
ing, to work belief in the incredulous.* Now incre-
dularity and dishonesty are both unchristian: for as none
are Christians, but those who are “ buried with Christ
“ by baptism, and are raised up unto newness of life;”
so in that pure law of the spirit of life, “ Swear not at
“ all,” is recorded. And so far is this from contradict-
ing the word of God, that the Great Word of God
hath so enjoined us, for all our adversary’s paraphrase
upon it, to wit, ‘ Swearing in communication;’ for
the swearing prohibited was such as the law allowed,
as Bp. Sanderson well observes, ‘ It was not needful
‘ that Christ should forbid what was forbidden in itself,
‘ or was always unlawful; which swearing in commu-
‘ nication was and is, as by the third commandment,
“ Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God
“ in vain.”’

* See Bp. Gauden of swearing, *The foundation of swearing now is
the wickedness of men*, p. 36. ‘ Bp. R. Sanderson, *De Jur.
Oblig.* p. 141.

Christ brought forth a righteousness that needed it not; for that grace, faith and truth, which came by Jesus Christ, take away the necessity of an oath. Consequently so far as any are in that incredulity or dishonesty which needs it, so far they are not the followers and disciples of Christ, nor qualified with his evangelical righteousness. Indeed it is a shameful thing, and very dishonourable to the Christian religion, that they who pretend themselves to be of a Christian society, should be so un-Christ-like, to want and use the scaring and affrighting asseverations dispensed with in some of the weakest times of knowledge, by which to assure one another of their faith and truth. In such cases, where is their evangelical link and tie of unity? Certainly a true Christian's *yea* should be *yea*, and his *nay*, *nay*; that is, in answer to all questions, whether it relate to matter of evidence or promise, they should speak the truth, and mean and do what they say; which is enough.

This truth is so natural, that it is familiar with some to say, 'I had rather take his word than the other's oath;' which shews how much honesty is more credible than swearing. This made the primitive Christians not only refuse to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, but to swear *at all*, telling their judges in their answers, 'It was unlawful for a Christian to swear.' And Bp. Gauden himself assures us, 'that they were so strict and exact, that there was no need of an oath among them: yea, they so kept up the sanctity and credit of their profession among unbelievers, that it was security enough in all cases to say, *Christianus sum*, I am a Christian:' and that if any urged them farther, 'they repeated this, as the only satisfaction they would give;' the veracity of their word.

* As the thief in Essex, who robbing a Quaker, in company with another, and using them fairly, desired them not to stir, till they were got clear of the road; upon which said the other man, 'I'll swear.' *You swear! you'll swear through an anvil and back again; will the other promise? Thieves know honesty, though they do not practise it.*

And

And that he might farther shew, how dishonourable and needless a thing it was for good and holy men, and true Christians, to swear, he brings in the whole body of the Essenes, with several wise Heathens and Christian fathers: indeed it was a primitive maxim, *Non oportet, ut vir qui evangelicè vivit, juret omnino*: 'It behoves not, that a man of an evangelical life should swear in any case.' And this doctrine was closely followed by Chrysostom, Theophylact, and several other ancient Christian doctors. Nor were the Heathens wholly insensible of the truth of this matter, as Bp. Gauden farther informs us out of Polybius, 'that the better and simpler ages of the world rarely used any oaths at all, no not so much as in judicature; but after perfidy and lies increased, oaths increased, as a remedy to restrain those mischiefs.' To which let me add, that some of the ancient sages, Socrates and Xenocrates, knew, urged, and also practised a life beyond an oath.

So that if those who are truly disciplined, redeemed, and renewed by the power and spirit of Christ Jesus, need no oath; nay, that it is a questioning of their veracity, and an affronting of their profession, to offer them one; and if 'the lying, familiar swearing, forswearing, and fraudulent dealing of wicked men, make their oaths of little or no credit,' as saith the bishop, out of Lactantius and Austin; certainly it will be much better to prevent swearing, and punish lying with the penalty due to forswearing; which suggests an unanswerable return to that familiar objection, 'But how do we know that ye are those honest men?' For we have not only the same answer the ancient Christians had to give, with this severe rebuke, 'That ye are the reproach of Christianity, who under that good name act those vile impieties the nobler Heathen judged, and the loosest have not out-done;' but we have this farther to offer; 'Dispense with our consciences in not swearing, and punish our untruth, when ye find it, as severely as ye do their perjury?'

What

What more can be desired, since truth-speaking fulfils the law, and punishing false-speaking satisfies it?

C H A P. VII.

Of the LIGHT WITHIN.

IT is matter of sad complaint, that a man should write of so excellent a subject as the light within, and shew so much darkness in treating of it. P. 99, 101, 102, 103.

But lest he should say, that our uncertain and various expressions, for such he esteems them, put him besides all faith in it, we shall endeavour to make their consistency, both with themselves, and the scriptures of truth, appear.

He quotes Tho. Foster, in his 'Guide to the Blind,' p. 1. thus, "God is the light," p. 7. *as a man forgetting himself*, 'Christ within is man's true light to walk by:' and in p. 9. *as doubting whether that would hold water*, says, 'The Spirit of Christ in man is the true light and guide; and this light enlightens every man that comes into the world.' But, says he, if James Naylor *may be judge, our friend* Thomas (he was so, though thou art an enemy, and a mocker of his memory) *is very much mistaken: for in his book called*, 'A Door opened to the Imprisoned,' p. 2, 3. *he says*, 'That the light of the world is God's love to the world; and this light is not given to any till they come out of the world.' And that George Whitehead, in 'The Seed of Israel's Redemption,' p. 20. says, 'That the light within, is a measure of the Lord's life and light.'

Anf. To the first quotation there can be no cavil; for it is plain scripture, "God is light," 1 John i. 5. And it was the apostolical message so to preach, "That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." John i. 9.

The

The second is also most true; for Christ is man's true light, "That was the true light which enlightens every man," &c. And that it was for man to walk by, both Christ and his apostles prove. "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." John viii. 12. Again, "If ye walk in the light, as He is in the light," &c. 1 John i. 7. God is light, and Christ is light: and since there is no knowing of God or Christ but by the manifestation of light; and that none know the Father but those to whom Christ, the light, reveals him; therefore Christ is man's true light, without which man can never know either God or Christ.

For his third quotation, I see no contradiction in it to the two former, unless Christ can be without his Spirit; for if the *Spirit* of Christ dwell in any man, *Christ* dwells in that man. This language the apostle used to the Romans, chap. viii. 9, 10, 11. "If the Spirit of God be in you." Again, "If the Spirit of Christ be in you." Yet again, "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus dwell in you:" all which are *synonymous*, or to one and the same purpose. For shame! thou a *scholar*, a *Gracian*, a *disputant*, that makest such sorry cavils! Might not the Jews and Heathens have made the same exceptions against the apostle? But it is an old devil-trick to be-saint and extol the holy ancients, whilst they hug the spirit that murdered them, and with it persecute the truth in this age: so cunning is the devil, and so blind is the world. But let us see how much more honest he is in his next quotation, than rational in the three former.

That the 'Light of the world is God's love to the world,' I find in James Naylor's book: but that the 'Light is not given to any till they come out of the world,' is a direct 'lie to our principle,' and a putting an absolute 'forgery upon his book:' for he says, 'That God has given his light to the world; that therein is his love manifested, that such as follow it in its leadings out of the world, have the nature

‘ture of sons: but sonship is that which cannot be
 ‘had whilst in the world’s nature; therefore they are
 ‘to come out of the world’s ways, to follow the light,
 ‘which visits man in the world’s ways, in order to
 ‘bring him out of them; and here the true sonship is
 ‘received:’ so that the sonship, and not the light, is
 that which cannot be had in the world. Now what
 contradiction can this be to our dishonest adversary’s
 honest friend Thomas, who said, ‘That the light en-
 ‘lightened every man that comes into the world?’ Sure
 I am it is a plain instance of our adversary’s disinge-
 nuous and injurious practice.

For G. Whitehead’s words, the substance of them
 is to be found in John i. 14, 16. “The Word was
 “full of grace and truth; and of his fulness have all
 “we received, and grace for grace.”

But he says, ‘H. N. teaches that every godly man
 ‘is God incarnate, and Christ incarnate; and that this
 ‘is the doctrine of the Quakers,’ says he, ‘I prove,
 ‘First, because T. Foster, in his ‘Guide to the Blind,’
 pag. 13. saith, ‘The light which is Christ within, is
 ‘not natural, but sufficient to salvation.’ Now I ap-
 peal to the whole world, what affinity there can be
 between H. N.’s words and Tho. Foster’s. Is *God in-
 carnate*, or *Christ incarnate*, to be found in his asser-
 tion? Nor will I pass my word for his right quotation
 of H. N. What he quarrels at here, I know not.
 Would he not have Christ manifested within? Or would
 he have him *natural*, in opposition to *spiritual*? Or
 would he have his light and spirit *insufficient* to salva-
 tion? If he intends any of these, he crosses express
 scripture, blasphemes against God, and frustrates the
 very end of the gospel: if none of them, why was
 this passage cited? But he thinks G. F. has made
 much for his purpose, who, in his ‘Great Mystery,’
 p. 207, 201. saith, ‘Christ is not distinct from the
 ‘saints; and he that eats the flesh of Christ hath it
 ‘within him.’ And what of all this? Is Christ divided
 from his saints? Was he not in them of old the hope
 of glory? “He that is with you, shall be in you.
 “And

"And at that day he shall know, that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." For the other part, I wonder he cited it: certain it is, "That unless men eat the flesh of Christ, they have no life in them." Now how a man can be said to *eat* any thing, and not have it *within* him, is a distinction past my understanding.

But Geo. Fox saith, pag. 206. 'If there be any Christ but he that was crucified within, he is a false Christ; and he that hath him not within, is a reprobate.'

Ans. Our return to this will be very short. 1st, By Christ crucified *within*; he does not deny that he was once crucified *without* (as the same page proveth) as our adversary would insinuate. 2dly, There can be no false doctrine in it, unless the owning of Christ being crucified within through wicked works, necessarily should imply our denying that he was ever crucified *without*; from the danger of which consequence the scriptures of truth sufficiently secure us. Heb. vi. 6: "Seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh." Also Rev. xi. 18. 3dly, And that such are reprobates in whom he lives not, remember that unanswerable passage, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Examine yourselves, whether you be in the faith; prove your own selves, know you not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is *in* you, except you be reprobates?"

But says our adversary, 'Ric. Stubbs, a Quaker, told Eliz. Wetherly, That the Jesus who was born of the Virgin, and died at Jerusalem, was a false Christ, and an Antichrist.' But this needs no long answer; for it is an absolute untruth, raised by the devil within, and his envious emissaries without, to bring us, the poor despised people of God, into infamy with all who have any reverence for the name of Christ: and God will plead our innocency in this man's conscience, by that holy light which he blasphemously saith, 'leads

‘ down to hell and the devil, carrying man, like an
 ‘ *ignis fatuus*, into bogs and ditches, causing him at
 ‘ last to fall into the pit of everlasting destruction.’
 For this I would have all the world to know, that
 God, who is “ the searcher of the heart, and the trier
 “ of the reins, who alone sheweth unto man his
 “ thoughts,^a” is the Great Spiritual *Light*, John i. 1.
 And it is as such, that he setteth man’s sins before him,
 as saith the apostle, “ Whatsoever makes manifest is
 “ light,” Ephes. v. 13. And saith the same apostle,
 “ Whatsoever may be known of God, is made mani-
 “ fested within men; for God hath shewed it unto
 “ them.” Rom. i. 19. Such as bring their deeds
 unto this light, may know whether they are “ wrought
 “ in God or no.¹” And for this end hath the Eternal
 Word enlightened every man that cometh into the
 world, that he may come to the light, and walk and
 grow up in it: for as all have given unto them, out
 of his fulness, grace for grace,^k so, from his fulness
 of light, hath he given all men light for light; not a
 mere natural CAPACITY, or creaturely UNDERSTANDING,
 but that *divine light* or *grace*, which is able to teach,
 sanctify, and govern the soul to God’s glory, and its
 own everlasting happiness: in the Word, by whom all
 things were made, was *life*, and that life was the light
 of men: and as it was then, so is it now, the con-
 demnation of the world, that “ Men love darkness
 “ rather than light, because their deeds are evil.”
 Some, with the Pharisee, prefer their formal, literal,
 and ceremonial religion; and others, their pleasures,
 pastimes, and worldly honour and profit, before this
 inward, pure light, and law of the spirit of life, the
 leaven of the kingdom, and truth in the inward parts,
 which frees from sin, and brings into the heavenly
 liberty of the sons of God. And we do testify in the
 name of God, that it is only by this measure of that
 divine fulness, which above one thousand six hundred

^a Psal. vii. 9. Jer. xi. 20. Amos iv. 13. ¹ John iii. 21.

^k John xix. 14.

years ago was manifested in the flesh, that any man or woman can ever come to a right sight, sense, relish, and enjoyment of the blessed ends and effects of his gracious appearance, heavenly gospel, mighty miracles, holy life, death, and sufferings, his powerful resurrection, glorious ascension, and constant mediation and intercession. And that all knowledge, faith, and worship, not grounded upon this internal sight, sense, and operation of this divine measure of grace, light, and truth in the inward parts, are but historical and pharisaical; making up but the Jew outward, and Christian outward, who are not children of the free woman, nor heirs according to the promise. And if for this blessed testimony we must be thus abused, defamed, and set at nought by the black-robed rabbies of this world, as the prophets, and Christ himself, were, God will be our abundant recompence; who is the Author of that good reformation begun, and will, I hope, be the Finisher of it, to his own immortal honour, and our unutterable rejoicing, world without end!

C H A P. VIII.

Of some of our adversary's lies and slanders.

HIS next chapter, containing a short account of the Quakers pretences to immediate revelation, hath been already effectually considered; only I shall take notice of two or three particulars.¹

First, 'That he would have the sadness and dejection of those that turn Quakers, and the zeal and fluency of those that preach among them, to be the effect of the hypochondria.'

Ans. This shews what an easy religion our adversary lives in, who yet knows not the terrors of the Lord: how unfit is he to warn men? Had he ever known

¹ Pag. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111.

God's word to be as a sword, an hammer, an axe, a consuming fire, and everlasting burnings against sin and iniquity, the pangs of a new birth, and how hard it is to become a true disciple through the daily cross, he would never have made such a frothy, dark, and envious construction of our serious convictions: but God's fire will one day burn up his peaceable habitation; and in that day of alarm, he and the rest of his jovial crew shall know the meaning of these words, "They that pierced him shall see him, and all the kindreds of the earth shall *wail* because of him."

But whatever disease we have, his frequent and senseless scoffs at us, and our holy way, shew that the spleen is very prevalent in him.

For his reflection on Edw. Burroughs, it will do him no harm; his soul is with God, and his memory shall outlive his enemies hate. And for this ranting scribbler, he is not worthy to carry his books after him.

For his 'Gentle-man of Newcastle,' who affirmed, 'Some Quakers came to Kendal church, and said, they had a commission from the Lord to pull down the steeple-house; and another in sermon-time to pull down the hour-glass,' I must tell him, that we know no such thing; and if it were a fair adversary, he would have told us who this gentleman was, and who the Quakers, that we might have informed ourselves of the truth of the matter; though we have great cause to conclude it a downright forgery. For the other, it is altogether as likely to come of the same stock:

That 'the wife of one Williamson should call Ja. Milner the eternal son of God, at Appleby,' is an arrant falsehood; for we have particularly enquired, and can find no such thing.

That 'a woman at Weighton in Yorkshire, of that goatish herd (as he is pleased to call them) went naked up to another woman's husband's bed, and bid him open his bed to her, for the Father had sent her,' is a slander hatched in darkness: we deny it in the
name

name of the Lord God : and I charge this disingenuous man, if he has any regard to his reputation, or those he belongs to, to prove, if he can, the truth of this story.

And that he should at last call this, ‘ A taste of the Quakers deluded dreams, melancholick fancies, im- postures, injections, everlasting errors and deceits,’ is the top of what impudence and forgery man can well be guilty of against his neighbour. But why *our* goatish herd, above all others? unjust and uncivil man ! Look at home, for shame ! How often are Quakers brought to ecclesiastical courts for uncleanness ? We know they are too often summoned there for tithes : it would be almost endless to tell the stories of both priests and people’s wickedness that follow them : one would think that no church of England-man, that knew any thing of the present age, or that thought we did, could believe that forging one unclean lie against the Quakers, should invalidate their *religion*, who believes his *own* to be true, notwithstanding those numerous incests, adulteries, fornications, concupiscences, murders, lies, perjuries, dissimulations, thefts, injuries, and such like, that have been, and daily are, committed by his dear fellow-communicants, the sons and daughters of the church of England. Let him therefore draw in his horns, and leave off pushing at us with his forgeries and defamations ; and repent of this ungodly way of dealing with us, that he may find mercy to his soul.

C H A P. IX.

Of P E R F E C T I O N.

I Perceive the man would fain say something of every controverted head held by the Quakers, though as little to the purpose as may be. There is but one thing commendable in his whole chapter, and that is its brevity. He stumbles at the very entrance, and never recovers himself to the end.

‘ The Quakers talk much of perfection from sin in this life; and that they have already attained to it.’ *Quote*, he scorns; his *word* is credit enough; at least he would have it so: but to let him go on. ‘ This,’ says he, ‘ is the Pharisee’s litany, “ God, I thank thee! “ I am not as other men are.” The Antinomian litany; the doctrine of Dell, Saltmarsh, Town, and all Antinomians and Familists: and that malice and railing perpetually make up the greatest part of the Quakers speaking to the people.’ But what of argument can be found in such mere assertion and reflection, I leave with sober men to judge. He neither understands Antinomians, Familists, nor Quakers. And truly I am ready to think him some raw, unfledged, under graduate, who by this essay aims at giving such a proof of his abilities, as may induct him to some fat benefice; or else one that thought we deserved no larger testimony of his ability, honesty, and discretion, in his endeavours against us.

In short; a perfect principle we plead for, and press the necessity and benefit of man’s conformity to it: that though it be a *little leaven*, it is able to leaven the *whole lump*: that this grace brings salvation from sin, by the power it gives them that obey it to mortify sin: else what a riddle would those scriptures make, that speak of “ Sanctification throughout, in body, “ soul, and spirit?” That “ He that is born of God “ sins not. Old things are done away, behold all “ things are become new. I write unto you, young “ men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. Be “ ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. “ Unto a perfect man. Let us cleanse ourselves from “ all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness “ in the fear of the Lord. The God of all grace “ make you perfect,” &c. Wherein not only a *perfection from sin*, but the going forward to a *perfect man*

“ 1 Thes. v. 23. 1 John v. 18. Chap. ii. 13. Mat. v. 48. Eph. iv. 13. 2 Cor. vii. 1. 1 Pet. v. 10. .

in Christ, is exhorted to, and prayed for; therefore not unobtainable.

To conclude: We do not teach people the perfection of our persons, but the principle of God, and our experience of its converting and translating power. *Christ* is stronger than the *devil*; and for this, was and is he manifested, "To end sin, and destroy the "works of the devil;" a doctrine the church of England teaches in her baptism. Nor do we say, That every man is *perfect* from sin as soon as he is *convinced* of sin: no, there is a great war, a long wilderness to travel through, many enemies to subdue, and difficulties to surmount; and those enemies are mostly those of a man's own house. We therefore exhort all to wait for "God's arising, that his enemies "may be scattered;" that witnessing a victorious state over hell and death, by the power of Christ Jesus, such may obtain "the new name which is "written in the Lamb's Book of Life," and promised to all that overcome: which is far from that ungodly ranterism he would fasten upon us and our principles: and I doubt not but time, patience, and our blameless conversation, shall dispel those mists which malice and ignorance may have raised, to darken and blemish the reputation of our practice, persons, and principles in the world.

C H A P. X.

His ninth and tenth chapter of the ways and arts that the Quakers use in gaining profelytes, with the advantage their way has over other heresies, honestly considered, and briefly confuted.

‘**T**HE first artifice,’ he says we use, ‘is, to come in sheep’s cloathing. Now what is this sheep’s cloathing,’ says he, ‘but only the innocence and purity of the Christian doctrine? When-as their main purpose is to devour credulous souls.’ p. 117.

Ans. If we have the sheep’s cloathing, and if the sheep’s cloathing be the purity and innocence of Christian doctrine, then is our doctrine innocent, pure, and Christian. And since he avers the doctrine of the church of *England* to be so remote and opposite, this character must necessarily imply, that her doctrine is hurtful, impure, and antichristian.

But what have we seduced people to? Drunkenness, whoredom, perjury, wantonness, idleness, or any such unseemly or irreligious practice? Let him tell me who of us are less serious, less moral, or worse livers than we were before. But the truth of the matter is this: Our way of devouring people’s souls, as he calls it, is that which hinders the hireling priests from devouring the people’s pockets, and endangering their souls to; who “teach for hire, and divine for money,” and make religion but a stalk to preferment, who have the shell without the substance, “the form without the power:” from such, in obedience to God’s Spirit, we have turned away; and because we have dared no longer to put into their mouths, their covetous spirit has swelled, (notwithstanding their pretences) and their sheep-skin burst, and an arrant wolf has come forth; no true sheep, but a sheep-fleecer, and a sheep-fucker of their blood, whose innocency and patience have plainly proved them such. But the
wolf’s

wolf's and the fox's skin have been always good enough for us! Any thing to disguise, and make the dogs fasten and worry to death! Our conscience they call *enthusiasm*; and our solemn confession, *collusion* and *equivocation*; our perseverance is reputed *obstinacy*; our plainness, *singularity*; our industry, *worldly-mindedness*; and our retired living, *penuriousness*; our rebukes of evil, they will have to be *censoriousness*; and our disregard of company, *pride*, and *sullenness*. Whatever God by his light has made conscience to us, there are a sort of men that have so little conscience, as to construe it all backwards; rendering us, instead of honest, conscientious men, 'A pack of fraudulent cheating fellows:' but we cannot help it; if men will rage, they must: their shame, and our patience, will the more appear.

He says, 'Our second stratagem is, to bring the people out of love with their pastors, who have the care of them.'

Ans. I know not a Quaker in the world that would not administer both food and raiment to the worst persecutor, as a necessitous creature: but I hope they would suffer unto death before they would contribute either to him as a *priest*: no; God's witness in our consciences never said *Amen* to their ministry. They have the scriptures, true: but the "word of reconciliation, that brings to God," and of which they declare, they want. I know that some of them can talk well; so can some mountebanks and comedians. Do they witness the truth of what they speak? Their heads know, but do their hearts feel the operation of that truth they will sometimes in words declare? Have they travelled the way, and traced the many anxious steps of that *new birth*, which is the only door into the heavenly kingdom? But alas! Oxford and Cambridge *make* them, and their parents and patrons *prefer* them: a good round maintenance is mostly their aim on all hands: tell them of the necessity of an inward work; that it is the Spirit of God that only makes

makes a man a minister of God, and that the anointing, which true Christian-men receive, is sufficient to their instruction, and presently the cry is, 'Donatism, Pelagianism, Familism, Brownism, Jesuitism, Quakerism,' or any other name that begets jealousy, undervalue and hatred. In short, we do believe, that the settled ministers of the world are so far from being beneficial to people, that, on the contrary, they exercise their minds with a sort of unexperienced, unauthorized preaching; leading from the secret strivings, discoveries, and conduct of that Spiritual Minister of the everlasting covenant, which is able to bring man into that way of holiness, without which no soul shall ever see the Lord: and this is the true reason why we are turned unto *God's* Minister, Christ Jesus, who says, "Learn of me:" of whom God said, "This is my beloved Son, hear *him*;" and reject the ministry of *man*.

'Our third artifice,' by which he says we gain our proselytes, is 'denying all human learning, and use of reason: that we are the most sottish and ignorant sect that ever appeared in the world: yet, for our own turn, we will be nibbling at it, as G. W. in mentioning a moth-eaten manuscript, mentioned by Beza in his annotations.'^a

Ans. We have already said enough to defend Christianity from the *absolute necessity* of human learning, either to understand or vindicate it; and so false is his assertion, 'That since prophecy has ceased in the church, secular learning hath been of greatest use and benefit to religion,' that there is nothing more true than the contrary, as it is commonly understood, promoted, and practised in the world. I would fain know, how many *rabbies*, Greek and Latin *philosophers*, yielded themselves proselytes to the Christian religion, though they had *his* presence, ministry, miracles, death, and resurrection amongst them, who was and is the

^a Page 120, 121.

Author and Master of it? If *such* learning be so great a friend to truth, how comes it that the greatest things have fallen to the share of *poor* and *illiterate* men; and that such have been most apt to receive, and boldest to suffer for it? Why not *rabbies*, rather than *fisher-men*, which was before the pouring out of the spirit of prophecy? and for what reason should so many learned *academies*, since the pretended ceasing of it, (*a*) be overrun with such foul idolatries, gross superstitions, and flagitious living, as 1200 years past will witness. Nay, on the occasion of any reformation, with whom is there more to do, and who harder to be brought to yield, than universities have been? Scripture and story give it clear against him.

Not that I would be thought to oppose *all* sorts of learning, neither: it has been man's erring from his Divine Guide, that has made way for those numerous theses, distinctions, books, and controversies, the world for ages hath been infested with. Such are the obscure, unintelligible, and unprofitable *metaphysicks* of the heathen, too greedily received, and mischievously increased, by *fathers*, *councils*, *school-men*, and our modern *universities*, to the corrupting of Christian doctrine, and disputing away the benefit of Christian life. An unbounded curiosity and fancy have been the womb that hath brought forth so much troublesome and unprofitable matter, which began with a degeneration of philosophers; true philosophy, in the beginning of it, being no more than 'the way of holy living, by the mortification of passions.' But learning, as religion, failing by corruption of men, is now

(*a*) But why is it ceased? Because ceased to *you*, sons of the night? Did not Christ promise to be with his to the *end*? Either that is not so, or his being with them endues them not with the spirit of prophecy: was it not *apostolical*, and in the first churches? Why not *now*? Is it less *wanted*? Is Christ not that to his church *he was*? A blind argument indeed! Because the priests of *man's* making have it not, therefore *none* have it. "I will pour out my Spirit upon thee, and upon thy seed, and thy seed's seed unto *all generations*." Isa. v. 9.

dege-

degenerated into quite another thing. Socrates taught proper speech, and good life, and such a course of learning as turned to daily practice and profit; severely forbidding all curiosities and niceties, as what turned not to good life, which he reputed the best science; and Plato would have the *poets* banished out of his commonwealth, as corrupting it with fables: thus was learning, as religion, once pure and simple. In short, all *right learning* is to be divided into these two, *true knowledge*, and *proper language*. (*b*) This knowledge relates, first, to God, and that is only to be received from the Spirit of God: and, secondly, the things of this life; and therein the spirit of man has a large field to act in, to the enlargement of its own understanding, and benefit of the whole creation, as subject to God's grace; as knowing the nature and order of things in the creation, building, improvement of land, medicine, chirurgery, traffick, navigation, history, government, with many other honest, useful, and profitable arts and inventions, for the help and good of mankind. And if man had kept in God's counsel, the many superfluous and unnecessary arts and inventions that are in the world, had never been brought forth by him; and time will work them out, as it brought them in; so that what is plain, honest, serviceable, and of good report, shall be preserved for the good of the creation.

As for *language*, it must be granted that there is a propriety and decency in language: but as men have followed the *outside* of religion, and left the *substance*

(*b*) These men were only versed in their *own* tongues: they were many of them mechanicks and tradesmen; answering, among the *Gentiles*, to the prophets and apostles among the *Jews* and *Christians* (though far short of them.) So that learning and philosophy, like to religion, are now so changed, the ancients would be at a loss to know them: another thing has possessed itself of the name of each: for to be a philosopher, or lover of wisdom, which was "to eschew all evil;" and learning, which was "to unlearn every ill thing," as Socrates said, are now turned to dark and unprofitable contests, elaborate and unserviceable studies, to stuff mens heads,

behind,

behind, so have they done with *learning*: they have neglected *matter*, the most beneficial part of learning, and devoted themselves to an excess of fine *speaking*; of which bishop Wilkins, in his 'Real Character,' complains not without a cause, when he says, 'That this grand imposture of phrasing hath eaten out all solid learning.'

Yet language is very convenient for mens converse with books and nations of a different tongue; however, we utterly deny them to be absolutely necessary to the true knowledge of the mysteries of God's kingdom. So that the true English of the Quakers denying all reason and learning, is this; we refuse to commend or practise unnecessary studies, nice controversies, voluminous and intricate disputations, obscurity of language, affectedness of stile, excess of elegancy; believing, that learning, as well as religion, stands in need both of great purging and reducing: and that those subjects and employments which are most serviceable and beneficial to mankind, and agreeable to God's grace, digested into easy and familiar methods, and treated on in the plain and ordinary way of speaking, best deserve man's time and regard. And for his reflection upon G. Whitehead, it no farther deserves our notice, than that he flung a greater upon Beza, whose learning he makes a little too bold with. To say no more of his *moth-eaten-manuscripts* than this, That the best copies he has had for his rule, have been near a-kin to such *moth-eaten-manuscripts*; and if such a manuscript was the holy scripture, as I believe it was, he was too bold and irreverent, as well as unwary and foolish, in calling it a *moth-eaten-scripture*, thereby implying it to be a *moth-eaten-rule*; not that I take it to be *his* rule, who has so fearfully erred and strayed from the holy precepts and exhortations of it.

The fourth thing by which he reports us to proselyte people is, 'To deceive and associate first with women, therein imitating the devil.'

Ans. First, we deny it, as being like the rest of his idle stories, and those that not only in the primitive times

times by the Heathen, but in several ages since, and degrees of breaking forth of truth and reformation from apostate generations, have been by them fastened upon the sincere professors thereof; as Waldenses, Lollards, Hugonots, and Protestants themselves, in their first day, as well as more modern Dissenters. We must take our share; it is no new nor strange thing.

But supposing it to be true, that our endeavours are first directed towards the women, I see no evil in our beginning to undeceive, where the devil began to deceive. If they are so easy to be persuaded, why not to good as well as to evil? But these idle shifts, and pitiful evasions, deserve rather to be disdained than considered.

Lastly, (page 125, 126, 127.) 'For our pretending to higher degrees of holiness, and cracks and boasts of inspirations, with our bewitching language, which is nothing but canting, and scripture phrase fitted to feminine fancies; by which,' he says, 'we have the advantage of all other heresies;(c)' I return thus much:

Ans. It is our faith, that God, who made heaven and earth, will judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ; so that it is not only my duty, but my interest, to speak the truth of my conscience in this matter. We dare pretend to no higher degree than we have attained; but we must make a difference between what we were whilst under the ministry of man, and what we are since our being turned to God's powerful word in the heart, Christ's ministry: we should be false to God, injurious to our neighbour, and smother

(c) Rainerius the monk, and a terrible enemy to the poor Waldenses, made the same complaints against them. 'They used,' says he, 'to teach first what the disciples of Christ ought to be, and that none are his disciples, but *they that imitate his life*: and that the popes, cardinals, &c. because they live in pride, avarice, and luxury, &c. are not the lawful successors of Christ, in that they walk not up to his commandments. Thus,' says the monk, 'they win upon the people.' *P. P. Pet. Hist. Wald.*

and

and belie our own convictions, if we should not say, 'That we have found our Judge near us, our Guide, 'Lawgiver, and Rule very nigh unto us;' and those infirmities, temptations, and corruptions, God has, by this heavenly grace, given us power against; by which we have known that mortification of sin, and conformity to the will of God, which the utmost of our former profession could never free us from. And if this plain and Christian confession must be called by all those hard names our adversary finds for our honest intentions, we must, as we have done, recommend our cause to God, and his holy witnesses in all consciences, and him to be judged by him; to whom we desire to stand and fall in all we say, do, and take in hand; to whom alone we owe the honour of our experiences and preservations.

However, the irreverence of the man deserves both our notice, and the reproof of all that read him: what! Is scripture-language become a cant; and a sober and seasonable use of it, canting fitted to feminine fancies? But we think it not more his folly, contradiction, and blasphemy, to speak with that contempt of the holy scriptures, and his pretended rule, than an advantage he gives our cause, to tell the world, 'That of all others, the Quakers speak and preach 'the scripture-dialect.' But it is the mother-tongue of such frothy minds so to profane; and for all their pretended respect to the holy scriptures, the spirit and life that belong unto them, are made but matter of jeer and mockery: they would not be thought to undervalue Christ, the scripture, nor his religion, but with the height of formality seem to reverence and applaud them all, yet persecute to the death those that are his holy offspring by the spirit of regeneration; which shews their esteem of Christ, scripture, and religion, to be but a kind of blindfold respect; and that indeed their very spirits turn within them against that which is truly Christ-like, scriptural, and religious. The devil ever understood his interest better,

ter, than to persecute truth under that name; yet for all his fair pretences to faintship, he constantly became a fierce devourer of those that have been the children of the truth: and I may truly say to this opposer, that for all his religion, learning, church-communion, and that stir he maketh against us, as a crew of hereticks and impostors, he knows not what spirit he is of, who has writ a book rather to abuse than inform us, and instigate the civil magistrate to destroy us, than by solid argument to refute or reclaim us. He that has but half an eye may see his aim was not so much our conversion, as disgrace, and, if possible, our utter ruin; but till our adversary's labours prove as dangerous to us, as his design (no doubt) was wicked, we have little cause to dread the success of his attempts.

And that he may see a little of himself, if he thinks himself worth looking upon, let him be pleased to take a view of some of those many reviling, scoffing, rude, and contemptuous epithets he is pleased to bestow on us, an entire body of people: 'Heretical generation of Quakers; slaves to pride, covetousness, lust; possessed by the devil, and a diabolical spirit; apostates, fanaticks, spiritualists; black, impure hearts and mouths; bewitched with their forceries and enchantments; impertinent cavilling fellows; rebellious Quakers; cheats, and mountebanks; a beastly and quaking generation; jugglers; quaking and impudent hereticks; a sottish sect; illuminado's; their cheats and impostures; enthusiastical hereticks; a goatish herd.'

And of our principles thus, (d) 'Their light leads to hell and the devil, and carries a man, like an *ignis*

* Epistle, p. 6, 7, 29, 32, 33, 35, 40, 41, 53, 77, 94, 206, 111, 117, 121, 110, 109.

(d) Bishop Sanderson highly honours and characterizes the *light*; he calls it, 'The Eternal Law of Righteousness, and a rule sufficient to Good Life.' See his book in Latin, entitled, *De Oblig. Jur. promiss.*

' *fatuus*,

‘*fatuus*, causing him to fall into the pit of everlasting destruction: who are led by this, are made obnoxious to all the impostures and injections of the devil, and to lie under everlasting errors and deceits.’

To all which I have no other answer than what it is to itself; for it contains that charge against its author, that I shall leave him to clear himself from, both to God and the whole world; only I cannot be so wanting of civility to the person he dedicated his book to, as not to let him know, that it is unworthy of his quality and repute amongst men, to have his name used to the protection of so much rudeness, irreligion, and abuse.

I cannot think so meanly of him, as that the endeavours of so scurrilous an author should excite him to any severity against that poor people he has so basely wronged: for such a thing were not only beneath that place he holds amongst men, but would be to entitle himself to all our adversary’s shameful miscarriages, and encourage him to persist in what it greatly behoves him to repent of, which God grant, for his mercy-sake: which is my whole answer to his ill treatment of us, and the worst wish I have for him.

A

C O N C L U S I O N.

To those to whom the discourse is dedicated.

SINCE then it is so evidently proved, by scripture, reason, and undoubted precedents, that it is no new or unwonted thing, for national churches to be deceived, (*e*) notwithstanding they have been endowed

(*e*) I intreat you to read a late piece of Dr. Cave’s, called ‘*Primitive Christianity*,’ in which the poverty, simplicity, meanness, manner, and place of worship, maintenance, ministry, objected novelty, &c. of the ancient Christians, are related.

with power, learning, nobility, wealth, and worldly glory; and that it hath pleased Almighty God, in the most signal reformation that have been wrought upon the world, to employ a sort of plain, simple, and illiterate people; let not our meanness, plainness, and simplicity, be any argument with you against us, in the mouths of that decimating tribe, whose trade it is to oppose that reformation, which, in conscience, can neither own nor pay them; the old enemies of God's appearance in the world, who therefore dread a free and universal preaching, because the engrossment of it to themselves has proved so profitable. Be Gamaliels at least, I beseech you, and fight not their battles: "If we are *not* of God, we cannot stand:" and if of God, "they must fall." Leave us therefore with our spiritual weapons to decide this controversy, without interposing your worldly power. It is strange that we should be such *ignorants*, and *bereticks* too, whilst they bless themselves with the name of *learned* and *orthodox*, and yet dread the consequence of being left by you to a *fair field* with us. Are not their universities, bishops, and doctors, enough to silence such *illiterate whifflers*, as our adversary is pleased to call us, without the argument of your carnal sword? Certainly they ill deserve fifteen hundred thousand pounds a year, if at last *you* must do the business for them: what less can we expect from the worst of persons and causes? But as this employment is below the dignity of their office, who are publick magistrates, and much too narrow for that universal influence it should have for publick good, so remember that great saying of the late king, to the then prince of Wales:

' Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental
' truths which mend both hearts and lives of men,
' with impartial favour and justice. Your prerogative
' is best shewn and exercised in remitting, rather than
' exacting the rigour of laws, there being nothing
' worse than legal tyranny.' Again, ' A charitable
' connivance, and Christian toleration often diffi-
' pates what, rougher opposition fortifies:' which
had

had been the saying and counfel of king James before him. It is a fure rule in divinity, 'That God never loves to plant his church by violence and bloodshed.' And in his expositions on Rev. xx. he faith, 'That persecution is the note of a false church.'

'Heresy must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit,' faith Jerom. 'The church doth not persecute, but is persecuted,' faith Hilary. 'If you will, with blood, with evil, and with torments defend your worship, it shall not thereby be defended, but polluted,' said Lactantius. I will conclude with Chrysostom; 'It is not,' faith he, 'the manner of the children of God to persecute about their religion, but an evident token of Antichrist.'

So let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand.

I am

A friend to all men,

Who would have vice *punished*, conscience *tolerated*, and righteousness *established*, whose end is peace and assurance for ever.

W. PENN.

The 16th of the 5th month, 1673.

Jer. Proem. lib. 4. Hilar. contr. Auxent. Lact. lib. 5. cap. 10. Relig. Urif. pag. 192.

E N G L A N D's
P R E S E N T I N T E R E S T
C O N S I D E R E D,
W I T H
H O N O U R to the P R I N C E,
A N D
S A F E T Y to the P E O P L E,

I N A N S W E R to this O n e Q U E S T I O N,

What is most fit, easy, and safe, at this Juncture of Affairs, to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Interests, and making them subservient to the Interest of the Government, and consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom?

Submitted to the Consideration of our SUPERIORS.

Lex est Ratio sine Appetitu.

Published in the Year 1678:

T H E

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no law under heaven, which hath its rise from nature or grace, that forbids men to deal honestly and plainly with the greatest, in matters of importance to their present and future good: on the contrary, the dictates of both enjoin every man that office to his neighbour; and from charity among private persons, it becomes a duty indispensable to the publick. Nor do worthy minds think ever the less kindly of honest and humble monitors; and God knows, that oftentimes princes are deceived, and kingdoms languish, for want of them. How far the posture of our affairs will justify this address, I shall submit to the judgment and observation of every intelligent reader.

Certain it is, that there are few kingdoms in the world more divided within themselves, and whose religious interests lie more seemingly cross to all accommodation, than that we live in; which renders the magistrate's task hard, and giveth him a difficulty next to invincible.

Your endeavours for an uniformity have been many; your acts not a few to enforce it; but the consequence, whether you intended it or no, through the barbarous practices of those that have had their execution, hath been the spoiling of several thousands of the free-born people of this kingdom, of their unforfeited rights. Persons have been flung into gaols, gates and trunks broke open, goods distrained, till a stool hath not been left to sit down on: flocks of cattle driven off, whole barns full of corn seized, threshed, and carried away:

parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without subsistence.

But that which aggravates the cruelty, is, *the widow's mite* hath not escaped their hands; they have made her 'cow the forfeiture of her *conscience*;' not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her. And, which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, 'the poor helpless orphan's 'milk, boiling over the fire, has been flung to the 'dogs, and the *skillet* made part of their prize:' so that had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished.

Nor can these inhuman instruments plead conscience or duty to those laws, who have abundantly transcended the severest clause in them; for 'to see the imprisoned,' has been suspicion enough for a gaol; and 'to visit 'the sick,' to make a conventicle: fining and distraining for preaching, and being at a meeting, where there hath been neither; and *forty pounds* for *twenty*, at pick and choof too, is a moderate advance with some of them.

Others, thinking this way too dull and troublesome, alter the question, and turn, 'Have you *met*?' which the act intends, to, 'Will you *swear*?' which it intendeth not: so that in some places it hath been sufficient to a *præmunire*, that men have had estates to lose; I mean such men, who, through tenderness, refuse the oath; but, by principle, like the allegiance, not less than their adversaries.

Finding then by sad experience, and a long tract of time, that the very remedies applied to cure dissention, increase it; and that the more vigorously an uniformity is coercively prosecuted, the wider breaches grow, the more inflamed persons are, and fixed in their resolutions to stand by their principles, it should, methinks, put an end to the attempt: for besides all other inconveniences to those that give them trouble, their very sufferings beget that compassion in the multitude, which

which rarely misses of making many friends, and proves often a preparation for not a few proselytes. So much more reverend is suffering, than making men suffer for religion, even of those that cannot suffer for their religion, if yet they have any religion to suffer for. Histories are full of examples: the *persecution* of the Christian religion made it more illustrious than its *doctrine*. Perhaps it will be denied to English Dissenters, that they rely upon so good a cause, and therefore a vanity in them to expect that success. But *Arianism* itself, once reputed the foulest heresy by the church, was by no artifice of its party so disseminated, as the severe opposition of the *Homoousians*.

Contests naturally draw company; and the vulgar are justified in their curiosity, if not pity, when they see so many wiser men busy themselves to suppress a people, by whom they see no other ill, than that, for nonconformity in matters of religion, they bear injuries and indignities patiently.

To be short: If all the interruptions, informations, fines, plunders, imprisonments, exiles and blood, which the great enemy of nature, as well as grace, hath excited man to, in all ages, about matters of faith and worship, from Cain and Abel's time to ours, could furnish us with sufficient precedents that the design proposed by the inflictors of so much severity was ever answered; that they have smothered opinions, and not inflamed, but extinguished contest; it might perhaps, at least prudentially, give check to our expectations, and allay my just confidence in this address: but since such attempts have ever been found unprosperous, as well as that they are too costly, and have always procured the 'judgments of God, and the hatred of men; to the sufferers misery; to their countries, decay of people and trade; and to their own consciences an extreme guilt;' I fall to the question, and then the solution of it: in which, as I declare, I intend nothing that should in the least abate of that love, honour, and service that are due to you; so, I beseech you, do me the justice to make the fairest interpretation

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tion of my expressions: for the whole of my plain and honest design is, ‘To offer my mite for the increase of your true honour, and my dear country’s felicity.’

THE QUESTION.

‘**W**HAT is most fit, easy, and safe, at this juncture of affairs, to be done, for composing, at least quieting, differences; for allaying the heat of contrary interests, and making them subservient to the interest of the government, and consistent with the prosperity of the kingdom?’

THE ANSWER.

I. **A**N inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights.

II. Our superiors governing themselves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the several religious interests.

III. A sincere promotion of general and practical religion.

I shall briefly discourse upon these three things, and endeavour to prove them a sufficient, if not the only best answer that can be given to the question propounded.

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CHAPTER I.

OF ENGLISH RIGHTS.

- I. Of *English* rights, in the *British*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* times. Particularly of *liberty* and *property*. Of *legislation*. Of *juries*. That they are *fundamental* to the government, and but *repeated* and *confirmed* by the *Great Charter*. The *reverence* paid them by *kings* and *parliaments*, and *their care to preserve them*. The *curse* and *punishment* that attended the *violators*. More general consideration of *property*, &c. The *uncertainty* and *ruin of interests*, where it is not maintained: divers precedents: that it is the prince's interest to preserve it inviolably: that it is not justly *forfeitable for ecclesiastical non-conformity*; and that where the *property* is sacrificed for it, the *government* is changed from *civil* to *ecclesiastical*, from the *parliament house* to the *vestry*.

THERE is no government in the world, but it must either stand upon *will* and *power*, or *condition* and *contract*: the one rules by men, the other by laws. And above all kingdoms under heaven, it is England's felicity to have her constitution so impartially just and free, that there cannot well be any thing more remote from arbitrariness, or more zealous of preserving the laws, by which its rights are maintained.

These laws are either fundamental, and so immutable; or more superficial and temporary, and consequently alterable.

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By *superficial laws*, we understand such acts, laws, or statutes, as are suited to present occurrences, and emergencies of state; and which may as well be abrogated, as they were first made, for the good of the kingdom: for instance, those statutes that relate to victuals, clothes, times and places of trade, &c. which have ever stood, whilst the reason of them was in force; but when that benefit, which did once redound, fell by fresh accidents, they ended, according to that old maxim, *Cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*.

By *fundamental laws*, I do not only understand such as immediately spring from *synteresis* (that eternal principle of truth and sapience, more or less disseminated through mankind,) which are as the corner-stones of human structure, the basis of reasonable societies, without which all would run into heaps and confusion; to wit, *Honestè vivere, alterum non ledere, jus suum cuique tribuere*, that is, 'To live honestly, not to hurt another, and to give every one their right,' (excellent principles, and common to all nations) though that itself were sufficient to our present purpose; but those rights and privileges which I call *English*, and which are the proper birth-right of Englishmen, and may be reduced to these three.

I. An ownership, and undisturbed possession: that what they have is rightly theirs, and no body's else.

II. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownership or propriety may be maintained.

III. An influence upon, and a real share in, that judicatory power that must apply every such law; which is the ancient, necessary and laudable use of juries: if not found among the *Britons*, to be sure practised by the *Saxons*, and continued through the *Normans* to this very day.

That these have been the ancient and undoubted rights of Englishmen, as three great roots, under whose spacious branches the English People have been wont to shelter

shelter themselves against the storms of arbitrary government, I shall endeavour to prove.

I. An ownership and undisturbed possession.

This relates both to title and security of *estate*, and liberty of *person*, from the violence of arbitrary power.

It is true, the footsteps of the *British* government are very much overgrown by time. There is scarcely any thing remarkable left us, but what we are beholden to strangers for: either their own unskilfulness in letters, or their depopulations and conquests by invaders, have deprived the world of a particular story of their laws and customs, in peace or war. However, Cæsar, Tacitus, and especially Dion, say enough to prove their nature and their government to be as far from slavish, as their breeding and manners were remote from the education and greater skill of the Romans.^a Beda and M. Westminster say as much.^b

The law of *property* they observed, and made those laws that concerned the preservation of it.

The *Saxons* brought no alteration to these two fundamentals of our English government; for they were a *free people*, governed by laws, of which they themselves were the makers: that is, there was no law made without the consent of the people; *de majoribus omnes*, as Tacitus observeth of the *Germans* in general.^c They lost nothing by transporting themselves hither; and doubtless found a greater consistency between their laws, than their ambition. For the learned collector of the 'British Councils,'^d tells us, that Ethelstan, the Saxon king, pleading with the people, told them, 'Seeing I, according to your law, allow what is yours, do ye so with me.' Whence three things are observable. First, that something was *theirs*, that nobody else could dispose of. Secondly, that they had *property* by their own law; therefore had a *share* in

^a Cæsar's Com. Tacit. in Vit. Agrip. Dion. l. 6. ^b M. West. Anno 416. l. i. c. 17. ^c Hist. Germ. ^d Concil. Brit. p. 397. making

making their own laws. Thirdly, that the law was *umpire* between king and people; neither of them ought to infringe; this, Ina, the great Saxon king, confirms. 'There is no great man,' saith he, 'nor any in the whole kingdom, that may abolish written laws.' It was also a great part of the Saxon oath administered to the kings, at their entrance upon the government, 'To maintain and rule according to the laws of the nation.'

Their parliament they called *mickle mote*, or *wittangemote*. It consisted of *king, lords, and people*, before the *clergy* interwove themselves with the civil government. And Andrew Horn, in his 'Mirror of Justice,' tells us, 'That the grand assembly of the kingdom in the Saxon time, was to confer of the government of God's people, how they might be kept from *sin*, in quiet, and have *right* done them, according to the customs and laws.'^a

Nor did this law end with the *Saxon* race: William the Conqueror, as he is usually called, quitting all *claim* by *conquest*, gladly stooped to the laws observed by the Saxon kings, and so became a king by leave, valuing a title by *election*, before that which is founded in *power* only. He therefore, at his coronation, made a solemn covenant, 'To maintain the good, approved, and ancient laws of this kingdom, and to inhibit all spoil and unjust government.'^b

And this Henry the First, his third son, among other his titles, mentioned in his charter to make Ely a bishoprick, calls himself, 'Son of William the *Great*, who by hereditary right (not *conquest*) succeeded king Edward (called the Confessor) in this kingdom.'^c

An ancient chronicle of Litchfield speaks of a council of lords that advised William of Normandy, 'To call together all the nobles and wise men throughout their counties of England, that they might set down their own laws and customs;' which was about the

^a Ll. Inæ. Lamb. ^b Mirror. c. 1. §. 2. ^c Ibid. c. 1. §. 2. 3.
Just. c. 4. §. 11. ^d M. Paris in vit. Gulielm. ^e Spicileg.
fourth

fourth year of his reign: which implies that they had fundamental laws, and that he intended their confirmation.

And one of the first laws made by this king, which, as a notable author saith, ' may be called the first magna charta in the *Norman* times, (by which he reserved to himself nothing of the freemen of this kingdom, but their free-service) in the conclusion of it, saith, ' That the lands of the inhabitants of this kingdom were granted to them in inheritance of the king, ' and by the common council of the whole kingdom: ' which law doth also provide, ' That they ' shall hold their lands and tenements well or quietly, ' and in peace, from all unjust tax and tillage: ' which is farther expounded in the laws of Henry the First, chap. 4. ' That no tribute or tax should be taken, but ' what was due in Edward the Confessor's time.' So that the *Norman* kings claim no other right in the lands and possessions of any of their subjects, than according to *English* law and right.

And so tender were they of *property* in those times, that when *justice* itself became importunate in a case, no distress could issue without publick warrant obtained: nor that neither, but upon three complaints first made. Nay, when *rape* and *plunder* were rife, and men seemed to have no more right to their own than they had power to maintain, even then was this law a sufficient sanctuary to the oppressed, by being publickly pleaded at the bar against all *usurpation*; though it were under the pretence of their conqueror's right itself; as by the case of Edwin of Sharnbourn, in ' Camden's Britannia,' plainly appears.

The like obligation to maintain this fundamental law of *property*, with the appendant rights of the people, was taken by William Rufus, Henry the First, Stephen, Henry the Second, Richard the First, John, and Henry the Third; which brings me to that famous law called *Magna Charta*, or ' The Great Charter of

* Ll. Gulielm. 55.

' England,'

'England,' of which more anon; it being my design to shew, that nothing of the essential rights of Englishmen was thereby, *de novo*, granted, as in civility to king Henry the Third it is termed; but that they were therein only repeated and confirmed. Wherefore I shall return to antecedent times, to fetch down the remaining rights.

The second part of this first fundamental is, *liberty of person*. The Saxons were so tender in the point of imprisonment, that there was little or no use made of it: nor would they so punish their bond-men; *vinculis coercere rarum est*.

In case of debt or damage, the recovery thereof was either by a delivery of the just value in goods; or, upon the sheriff's sale of the goods, in money; and if that satisfied not, the land was extended: and when all was gone, they were accustomed to make their last seizure upon the party's arms, and then he was reputed an undone man, and cast upon the charity of his friends for subsistence: but his person was never imprisoned for the debt: no, not in the king's case.¹ And to the honour of king Alfred be it spoken, 'He imprisoned one of his judges for imprisoning a man in that case.'

We find among his laws this passage, *Qui immerentem paganum vinculis constrinxerit, decem solidis noxam sarcito*: 'That if a man should imprison his vassal or bond-man unjustly, his purgation of that offence should not be less than the payment of ten shillings:^m' a sum very considerable in those days, more than ten pounds now.

Nor did the revolution from *Saxon* to *Norman* drop this privilege: for besides the general confirmation of former rights by William, surnamed the Conqueror, his son Henry the First particularly took such care of continuing *this part of property* inviolable, that, in his time, no person was to be imprisoned for committing of mortal crime itself, unless he were first attainted by

¹ Ll. Edw. ^m Ll. Alfr. cap. 1. and 31.

the verdict of twelve men ; that is, a jury, which was to be of the neighbourhood. ^a

Thus much for the first of my three fundamentals, *right of estate*, and *liberty of person*: that is to say, I am no man's bond-man, and what I possess is *absolutely mine own*.

II. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownership or property may be maintained.

This second fundamental of our English government, was no incroachment upon the kings of more modern ages, but extant long before the *great charter* made in the reign of Hen. III. even as early as the *Britons* themselves; and that it continued to the time of Hen. III. is evident from several instances.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries, tells us, ' That it was ' the custom of the British cities to elect their general ' or commander in chief, in case of war.'^o Dion assures us, in the life of Severus the emperor, ' That in ' Britain the people held a share in power and govern- ' ment;' which is the modestest construction his words will bear. And Tacitus, in the life of Agrippa, says, ' They had a common council; and that one great ' reason of their overthrow by the Romans, was, their ' not consulting with, and relying upon, their common ' council.'^p Again, both Bede and Mat. Westminster tell us, ' That the *Britons* summoned a synod, chose ' their moderator, and expelled the Pelagian creed.' All which supposes popular assemblies, with power to order national affairs,

And indeed, the learned author of the ' British ' councils' gives some hints to this purpose, ' That ' they had a common council, and called it *kyfr-ytben*.'

The *Saxons* were not inferior to the *Britons* in this point; and story furnisheth us with more and plainer proofs. They brought this liberty along with them,

^a Ll. Gulielm. cap. 42, 49, 55. Ll. Hen. 1. cap. 5. ^o Lib. 5, 6.
^p Cap. 12.

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and it was not likely they should lose it, by transporting themselves into a country where they also found it. Tacitus reports it to have been generally the *German* liberty; like unto the *concio* of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

They called their freemen *Frilingi*; and these had votes in the making and executing the general laws of the kingdom.

In Ethelbert's time, after the monk Austin's insinuations had made his followers a part of the government, the *commune concilium* was *tam cleri quam populi*, 'as well 'clergy as people.' In Ina's time, *suasu & instituto episcoporum, omnium senatorum & natu majorum sapientum populi*; 'bishops, lords, and wise men of the people.' Alfred after him reformed the former laws, *consulto sapientem*, 'by the advice of the sages of the kingdom.' Likewise matters of publick and general charge, in case of war, &c. we have granted in the assembly, *rege, baronibus, & populo*; 'by the king, 'barons, and people.' And though the *Saxon* word properly imports 'the meeting of wise men,' yet *all* that would come might be present, and interpose their like or dislike of the present proposition: as that of Ina, *in magnâ fervorum Dei frequentia*. Again, *Commune concilium seniorum & populorum totius regni*; 'the common council of the elders or nobles, and people of 'the whole kingdom.' The council of Winton, ann. 855. is said to be in the presence of the great men, *aliorumq; fidelium infinitâ multitudine*; 'and an infinite multitude of other faithful people;' which was nigh four hundred years before the *great charter* was made.

My last instance of the Saxon ages shall be out of the *Glossary* of the learned English knight, H. Spelman: 'The Saxon *wittangemote*, or parliament,' saith he, 'is a convention of the *princes*, as well *bishops* as 'magistrates, and the *free people* of the kingdom:' and

* Concil. Brit. 162. Ll. Sax. Lam. * Ll. Sax. Lam. p. 1. Concil. Brit. 19. Ingulph. * Spelm. Gloss. tit. Gemote, f. 261.

that

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that the said *wittangemote* consulted of the common safety in peace and war, and for the promotion of the common good.

William of Normandy chose rather to rely upon the people's *consent*, than his own *power* to obtain the kingdom. He swore to them to maintain their *old laws* and *privileges*; they to him *obedience*, for his so governing of them: for, as a certain author hath it, 'He bound himself to be *just*, that he might be *great*; and the people to submit to *justice*, that they might be *free*.' In his laws, c. 55. 'We, by the common council of the whole kingdom, have granted the people's lands to them in inheritance, according to their ancient laws.'

Matters of general expence upon the whole body of the people were settled by this great council, especially in the *charge of arms* imposed upon the subject. The law saith it to have been done by the *commune concilium* of the kingdom."

So W. Rufus and Henry the First were received by the *common consent* of the people. And Stephen's words were, *Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri & populi in regno Angliæ electus, &c.* 'I Stephen, by the grace of God, and consent of the clergy and people, chosen king of England,' &c. So king John was chosen, *tam cleri quam populi unanimi consensu & favore*; 'by the favour and unanimous consent of the clergy and people:' and his queen is said to have been crowned *de communi consensu & concordii voluntate archiepiscoporum, comitum, baronum, cleri & populi totius regni*, i. e. 'by the common assent and unanimous good will of the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, clergy, and people of the whole kingdom.'" King Edw. I. also desired money of the *commune concilium*,

¹ Ll. Gulielm. c. 55. ² Ibid. c. 58. Spicileg. W. Malmf. C. Hist. p. 101. * Cart. moder. fœder. mag. sigil. Anno 1. Joh. ex Vet. Reg. in Arch. Cantuar. Archiepiscop. Rot. Cart. Ann. 5 Joh. Memb. 5. n. 29.

lium, or parliament, 'As you have given in my time, and that of my progenitors, kings, &c.

All which shews, that it was *antecedent* to the great charter; not the rights therein *repeated* and *confirmed*, but the *act itself*.

And king John's resignation of the crown to the pope, being questioned upon some occasion in Edward III.'s time, it was agreed upon, 'That he had no power to do it, without the consent of the dukes, prelates, barons, and commons.'

And, as paradoxical as any may please to think it, it is the great interest of a prince, that the people should have a *share* in the making of their own laws: where it is otherwise, they are no kings of free-men, but slaves, and those their enemies for making them so. *Leges nullâ aliâ causâ nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt*; 'The laws,' saith Ulpian, 'do therefore *oblige* the people, because they are allowed of by their judgment.' And Gratian, in Dec. Distinct. 4. *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*: 'It is then,' saith he, 'that human laws have their due force, when they shall not only be devised, but confirmed by the approbation of the people.'

1. It makes men diligent, and increaseth trade, which advances the revenue: for where men are not free, they will never seek to improve, because they are not sure of what they have, and less of what they get.

2. It frees the prince from the jealousy and hate of his people; and consequently, the troubles and danger that follow; and makes his province easy and safe.

3. If any inconvenience attends the execution of any law, the prince is not to be blamed: it is their own fault that made it.

I shall now proceed to the third fundamental, and by plain evidence prove it to have been a material

part of the government before the great charter was enacted.

III. The people have an influence upon, and a great share in, the judicatory power.

That it was a *British* custom, I will not affirm, but have some reason to suppose: for if the *Saxons* had brought it with them, they would also have left it behind them, and in all likelihood there would have been some footsteps in *Saxony* of such a law or custom, which we find not. I will not enter the lists with any about this: this shall suffice me, that we find it early among the *Saxons* in this country; and if they, a free people in their own country, settling themselves here as a new planted colony, did supply what was defective in their own government, or add some new freedom to themselves, as all planters are wont to do, which are those first and corner-stones, their posterity, with all care and skill, are to build upon, *that* itself will serve my turn to prove it a *fundamental*: that is, such a first principle in our English government, by the agreement of the people, as ought not to be violated. I would not be understood of the number, but of the way of trial: 'I mean, 'That men were not 'to be condemned, but by the votes of the freemen.'

N. Bacon thinks that in ruder times the multitude tried all among themselves; and fancies it came from the *Grecians*, who determined controversies by the suffrage of 34, or the major part of them.

Be it as it will, *juries* the *Saxons* had; for in the laws of king Etheldred, about three hundred years before the entrance of the Norman duke, we find enacted, *In singulis centuriis*, &c. thus englished, 'In 'every hundred let there be a court, and let twelve 'ancient freemen, together with the lord of the hundred, be sworn, that they will not condemn the innocent, or acquit the guilty.' And so strict were

they of those ages, in observing this fundamental way of judicature, that Alfred put one of his judges to death, for passing sentence upon a verdict (corruptly obtained) upon the votes of the jurors, *three of twelve* being in the negative. If the *number* was so sacred, what was the *constitution itself*?

The very same king executed another of his judges, for passing sentence of death upon an *ignoramus* returned by the jury; and a third, for condemning a man upon an inquest taken *ex officio*, when-as the delinquent had not put himself upon their trial. More of his justice might be mentioned even in this very case.

There was also a law made in the time of Etheldred, when the *Britons* and *Saxons* began to grow tame to each other, and intercommon amicably, that saith,
 ‘ Let there be twelve men of understanding, &c. six
 ‘ *English*, and six *Welsh*, and let them deal justice, both
 ‘ to *English* and *Welsh*.’

Also in those simple times, if a crime extended but to some *shameful punishment*, as *pillory* or *whipping* (the last whereof, as usual as it has been with us, was inflicted only upon their bondmen) the penance might be reduced to a *ransom*, according to the nature of the fault; but it must be assessed in the presence of the judge, and by the *twelve*, that is, the jury of *Frilingi*, or freemen.

Hitherto stories tell us of *trials by juries*, and those to have consisted, in general terms, of *freemen*: but *per pares*, or by *equals*, came after, occasioned by the considerable *Saxons* neglecting that service, and leaving it to the *inferior* people, who lost the bench, *their ancient right*, because they were not thought company for a judge or sheriff: and also from the growing pride of the *Danes*, who slighted such a *rural judicature*, and despised the fellowship of the mean *Saxon freemen* in publick service. The wise *Saxon* king perceiving this, and the dangerous consequence of submitting the *lives* and *liberties* of the *inferior* (but not less *useful* people)

* Ll. Etheld, cap. 3. Lamb, Ll. Inæ. Ll. Canut.

to the distates of any such *baugbty humour*; and, on the other hand, of subjecting the *nobler sort* to the suffrage of the *inferior rank*, did, with the advice of his *wittangemote*, or *parliament*, provide a third way, more equal and grateful, and by agreement with Gunthurn, the *Dane*, settled the *law of peers*, or *equals*; which is the *envy of nations*, but the *famous privilege* of our *English people*: one of those three pillars the fabrick of this ancient and free government stands upon.

This benefit gets strength by time, and is received by the Norman duke and his successors; and not only confirmed in the lump of other privileges, but in one notable case for all; which might be brought to prove, that the fundamental privileges, mentioned in the great charter, 9 of Hen. 3. were *before it*. The story is more at large delivered by our learned Selden: but thus, ‘William having given his half brother Odo a large territory in Kent, with the earldom, and he taking advantage at the king’s being displeased with the archbishop of Canterbury, to possess himself of some of the lands of that see, Lanfrank, that succeeded the archbishop, informed hereof, petitioned the king for justice, *secundum legem terræ*, according to the law of the land: upon which the king summoned a *county court*, where the debate lasted three days, before the *freemen* of *Kent*, in the presence of *lords* and *bishops*, and others skilful in the law, and the judgment passed for the archbishop, *upon the votes of the freemen*.^b’

By all which it is, I hope, sufficiently and inoffensively manifested, that these three principles, viz.

1. That *English* men have the alone right of possession and disposition of what is theirs;
2. That they are parties to the laws of their country, for the maintenance thereof;
3. That they have an influence upon, and a real share in, the judicatory power, that applies those laws;

^b Spicileg. 197.

have been the *ancient rights* of the kingdom, and common *basis* of the government; that which kings, under all revolutions, have sworn to maintain, and history affords us so many precedents to confirm. So that the *great charter*, made in the 9th of Hen. 3. was not the *nativity*, but *restoration*, of ancient privileges from abuses; no grant of *new rights*, but a *new* grant, or *confirmation* rather, of *ancient laws* and *liberties*, violated by king John, and restored by his successor, at the expence of a long and bloody war; which shewed them as resolute to keep, as their ancestors had been careful to make, those excellent laws.

And so I am come to the *great charter*, which is comprehensive of what I have already been discoursing, and which I shall briefly touch upon, with those successive *statutes* that have been made in honour and preservation of it.

I shall rehearse so much of it as falls within the consideration of the foregoing matter, (which is a great deal in a little) with something of the formality of *grant* and *curse*; that this age may see with what reverence and circumspection our ancestors governed themselves in confirming and preserving of it.

‘ Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c.
 ‘ To all archbishops, earls, barons, sheriffs, provosts,
 ‘ officers, unto all bailiffs, and our faithful subjects,
 ‘ who shall see this present charter, greeting: Know
 ‘ ye, that unto the honour of Almighty God, and for
 ‘ the salvation of the souls of our progenitors, and
 ‘ our successors, kings of England, to the advance-
 ‘ ment of holy church, and amendment of our realm,
 ‘ of our *mere and free will* have given and granted to
 ‘ all archbishops, &c. and to all *freemen* of this our
 ‘ realm, these liberties underwritten, to be holden and
 ‘ kept in this our realm of England for evermore.’

Though in honour to the king, it is said to be out of his *mere and free will*, as if it were his mere favour,

yet the qualification of the persons he is said to grant the ensuing liberties to, shews, that they are terms of formality, viz. *to all freemen of this realm*. Which supposes there were *freemen* before this grant; and that character also implies they must have had *laws and liberties*: consequently, this was not an infranchising of them, but a *confirming* to freemen their just privileges they had before. The words of the charter are these:

‘ A *freeman* shall not be *amerced* for a small fault, but *after the quantity of the fault*; and for a great fault, after the manner thereof, saving to him his *contenements or freehold*: and a *merchant* likewise shall be amerced, saving to him his merchandize; and none of the said amercements shall be assessed, but by the oath of good and honest men of the vicinage.”
 ‘ No freeman shall be taken or *imprisoned*, nor be *disseised of his freehold or liberties*, or *free customs*; or be outlawed or exiled, or any other ways destroyed; nor we shall not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by *lawful judgment of his peers*, or *by the law of the land*. We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right.”

I stand amazed, how any man can have the confidence to say, ‘ These privileges were extorted by the ‘ baron’s wars,’ when the king declares, that what he did herein, was done *freely*: or that they were new privileges, when the very tenor of the word proves the contrary: for *freehold, liberties, or free customs*, are by the charter itself supposed to be in the possession of the freemen at the making and publishing thereof. For observe, *no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned*: then he was free: this liberty is his right. Again, *no freeman shall be disseised of his freehold, liberties, or free customs*; then certainly he was in possession of them: and that great doctor in the laws of England, chief justice Coke, in his proem to the second part of his *Institutes*, tells us, ‘ that these laws and liberties were gathered

‘ and observed amongst others, in an entire volume,
 ‘ by king Edward the Confessor; confirmed by Wil-
 ‘ liam, surnamed the Conqueror; which were after-
 ‘ wards ratified by Henry the First; enlarged by Henry
 ‘ the Second, in his constitutions at Clarendon; and
 ‘ after much contest, and blood spilt, between king
 ‘ John and the barons concerning them, were solemnly
 ‘ established at Running-Mead by Staines: and lastly,
 ‘ brought to their former station, and published by
 ‘ this king Henry the Third, in the 9th year of his
 ‘ reign.’

And though evil counsellors would have provoked him to void his father's act and his own, as if the first had been the effect of *force*, the other of *non-age*; yet it so pleased Almighty God, who hath ever been propitious to this ungrateful island, that in the 20th year of his reign, he did confirm and complete this charter, for a perpetual establishment of liberty to all *free-born Englishmen*, and their heirs for ever: ordaining, *Quod contravenientes per dominum regem, cum convicti fuerint, graviter puniantur*, i. e. ‘ That whosoever should
 ‘ act any thing contrary to these laws, upon conviction, should be grievously punished by our lord the
 ‘ king.’ And in the 22d year of his reign, it was confirmed by the statute of Marleb. cap. 5. And so venerable an esteem have our ancestors had for this great charter, and so indispensably necessary have they thought it to their own and posterity's felicity, that it hath been above thirty times ratified and commanded, under great penalties, to be put in execution.

Here are the three fundamentals comprehended, and expressed to have been the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

I. *Ownership*, consisting of liberty and property. In that it supposes *Englishmen* to be *free*, there is *liberty*: next, that they have *freeholds*, there is *property*.

II. That they have the *voting of their own laws*: for that was an ancient free custom, as I have already proved, and all such customs are expressly confirmed

firmed by this *great charter*: besides, the people helped to make it.

III. An influence upon, and a real *share in, the judicatory power*, in the execution and application thereof.

This is a substantial part, thrice provided for in those sixteen lines of the great charter before rehearsed: '1. That no amercement shall be assessed, but by oath of good and honest men of the vicinage. 2. Nor shall we not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers. 3. Or by the law of the land:' which is synonymous, or a saying of equal signification, with lawful judgment of peers: for *law of the land*, and *lawful judgment of peers*, are the *proprium quarto modo*, or essential qualities, of these chapters of our great charter; being communicable *omni soli & semper*, to all and every clause thereof alike.

Chief justice Coke well observes, in his Second Institutes, that *per legem terræ*, or by the law of the land, imports no more than a 'Trial by process, and writ originally at common law;' which cannot be without the lawful judgment of *equals*, or a *common jury*: therefore *per legale judicium parium*, by the lawful judgment of peers, and *per legem terræ*, by the law of the land, plainly signify the same privilege to the people. So that it is the judgment of the *freemen of England*, which gives the *cast*, and turns the *scale*, in English justice.

These being so evidently proved by long use, and several laws, to have been the first principles, or fundamentals, of the English free government, I take leave to propose this question: 'May the free people of England be justly disseised of all, or any, of these fundamentals, without their consent collectively?'

Ans. With submission, I conceive, *not*; for which I shall produce, first, my reasons, then authorities.

I. Through the British, Saxon, and Norman times, the people of this island have been reputed and called *freemen* by kings, parliaments, records, and histories:

and as a *son* supposes a *father*, so *freemen* suppose *freedom*. This qualification imports an absolute right: such a right as none has right to disseise or dispossess an Englishman of: therefore an unalterable fundamental part of the government.

II. It can never be thought, that they intrusted any representatives with these capital privileges, farther than to use their best skill to secure and maintain them. They never so delegated or impowered any men, that, *de jure*, they could deprive them of that qualification: and *à facto ad jus, non valet argumentum*: for the question is not, 'What *may* be done?' but 'What *ought* to be done?' Overseers and stewards are impowered not to *alienate*, but preserve and improve, other mens inheritances. No owners deliver their ship and goods into any man's hands to give them away, or run upon a rock; neither do they consign their affairs to agents or factors without limitations. All *trusts* suppose such a fundamental right in them that give them, and for whom the trusts are, as is altogether indissoluble by the trustees. The trust is, the liberty and property of the people; the limitation is, that it should not be invaded, but inviolably preserved, according to the law of the land.

III. If *salus populi* be *suprema lex*, the safety of the people the highest law (as say several of our ancient famous lawyers and law-books); then, since the afore-said rights are as the sinews that hold together this free body politick, it follows, they are at least a part of the supreme law, and therefore ought to be a rule and limit to all subsequent legislation.

IV. The estate goes before the steward; the foundation before the house; people before their representatives; and the Creator before the creature. The steward lives by preserving the estate; the house stands by reason of its foundation; the representative depends upon the people, as the creature subsists by the power of its Creator.

Every *representative* may be called, the *creature of the people*, because the people make them, and to them they owe their being. Here is no transessentiating, or transub-

transubstantiating of being, from people to representative; no more than there is an absolute transferring of a title in a *letter of attorney*.

The very term *representative* is enough to the contrary; wherefore as the house cannot stand without its foundation, nor the creature subsist without its Creator, so there can be no *representative* without a *people*, nor that *people free*, (which all along is intended, as inherent to, and inseparable from, the English people) without *freedom*; nor can there be any *freedom* without something be *fundamental*.

In short, I would fain know of any man how the branches can cut up the root of the tree that bears them? How any representative, that has not only a mere *trust to preserve fundamentals*, the people's inheritance, but that is a representative that makes laws, by virtue of this fundamental law, viz. *that the people have a power in legislation*, (the 2d principle proved by me) can have a right to remove or destroy that fundamental? The fundamental makes the people *free*; this free people makes a *representative*: can this creature unqualify its creator? What spring ever rose higher than its head? The representative is at best but a true copy, an exemplification; the free people are the original, not cancellable by a transcript: and if that fundamental which gives to the people a power of *legislation*, be not nullable by that representative, because it makes them what they are; much less can that representative disseise men of their liberty and property, the first great fundamental, that is, parent of this other; and which intitles to a share in making laws for the preserving of the first inviolable.

Nor is the third fundamental other than the necessary production of the two first, to intercept *arbitrary designs*, and make *power legal*: for where the people have not a *share in judgment*, this is, in the application, as well as making of the law, the other two are imperfect; open to daily invasion, should it be our infelicity ever to have a violent prince. For as property is every day exposed, where those that have it are des-

titute

stitute of power to hedge it about by *law-making*; so those that have both, if they have not a share in the application of the law, how easily is that hedge broken down?

And indeed, as it is a most just and necessary, as well as ancient and honourable custom, so it is the prince's interest: for still the people are concerned in the inconveniences with him, and he is freed from the temptation of doing arbitrary things, and their importunities, that might else have some pretence for such addresses, as well as from the mischiefs that might ensue such actions. It might be enough to say, that there are above *fifty statutes* now in print, besides its venerable antiquity, that warrant and confirm this *legale judicium parium suorum*, or the 'Trial of Englishmen by their equals.'

But I shall hint at a few instances: the first is, the earl of Lancaster, in the 14th of Edw. II. adjudged to die without lawful trial of his peers: and afterwards Henry, earl of Lancaster, his brother, was restored. The reasons given were two: 1. 'Because the said Thomas was not *arraigned*, and put to answer. 2. 'That he was put to death *without answer*, or *lawful judgment* of his peers.' The like proceedings were in the case of John of Gaunt, p. 39. *Coram Rege*. And in the earl of Arundel's case, *rot. parl.* 4 Edw. III. N. 13. Also in Sir John Alee's case, 4 Edw. III. N. 2. Such was the destruction committed on the Lord Hastings in the Tower of London, by Richard III. But above all, the attainder of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, who was attainted of high treason, as appears, *rot. parl.* 32 Hen. VIII. of which, faith chief justice Coke, as I remember, 'Let oblivion take away the memory of so foul a fact, if it can: if not, however, let silence cover it.'

It is true, there was a statute obtained in the 11th of Henry VIIth, in defiance of the great charter, which authorized several exactions, contrary to the free customs of this realm; particularly in the case of *jurors*, both *assessing* and *punishing* by *justices of assize*, and of the

the *peace*, without the fining and presentment of *twelve freemen*. Empson and Dudley were the great actors of those oppressions; but they were hanged for their pains, and that illegal statute repealed in the first of Henry the VIIIth, ch. 6.

The consequence is plain; that fundamentals give rule to *acts of parliament*; else why was the statute of the 8th Edw. IV. ch. 2. of *liveries and information*, by the discretion of the judges, to stand as an *original*, and this of the 11th of Henry the VIIth, repealed as *illegal*? For therefore any thing is unlawful, because it transgresseth a law. But what law can an *act of parliament* transgress, but that which is fundamental? Therefore *trial by juries*, or lawful judgment of *equals*, is by *acts of parliament* confessed to be a *fundamental* part of our government. And because chief justice Coke is so generally esteemed an oracle of the law, I shall in its proper place present you with his judgment upon the whole matter.

V. These fundamentals are unalterable by a *representative*, which were the result and agreement of *English freemen*, collectively; the ancients times not being acquainted with representatives: for then the *freemen* met in their own persons. In all the *Saxon* story we find no mention of any such thing; for it was the *king, lords, and freemen*: the *elders and people*. And at the council of Winton, in 855, is reported to have been present, ‘The great men of the kingdom, and an *infinite multitude* of other faithful people.’ Also at that of king Ina, ‘The common council of the elders and people of the whole kingdom:’ that is, the most or generality of the freemen of the kingdom; for all might come that pleased. It is not to be doubted but this continued after the *Norman* times; and that at *Running-Mead*, by *Staines*, the *freemen of England* were personally present at the *confirmation* of that *great charter*, in the reign of king John. But as the ages grew more humane, and free with respect to

† Ll. Sax. Lam. * Concil. Brit. 219. Ingulph.

villains and retainers, and that the number of *freemen* increased, there was a *necessity* for a *representative*; especially, since fundamentals were long ago agreed upon, and those *capital privileges* put out of the reach and power of a little number of men to endanger. And so careful were the representatives of the people, in the time of Edward the Third, of suffering their liberties and free customs to be infringed, that 'in matters of extraordinary weight they would not determine, till they had first returned to, and conferred with, their several counties or boroughs that delegated them.'^a Thus the *Parl. Rolls* of his time.

Several *authorities* in confirmation of the *reasons* before mentioned.

So indubitably are these fundamentals the *people's right*, and so necessary to be preserved, that kings have successively known no other safe or legal passage to their crown and dignity, than their solemn obligation inviolably to maintain them. 'So sacred were they reputed in the days of Henry the III^d, that not to continue or confirm them, was to affront God, and to damn the souls of his progenitors and successors; and to depress the church, and deprave the realm: that the great charter, comprehensive of them, should be allowed as the *common law of the land*, by all officers of justice; that is, the *lawful inheritance of all commoners*: that all statute laws or judgments whatsoever, made in opposition thereunto, should be null and void: that all the ministers of state, and officers of the realm, should constantly be sworn to the observation thereof.' And so deeply did after-parliaments reverence it, and so careful were they to preserve it, that they both confirmed it by *thirty-two several acts*, and enacted *copies* to be taken and lodged in each cathedral of the realm, to be read four times a year publickly before the people: as if

^a Coke 4 Inst. fol. 14. n. 34.

they

they would have them more obliged to their ancestors for redeeming and transmitting those privileges, than for begetting them: and that ‘twice every year, the bishops, apparelled in their pontificals, with tapers burning, and other solemnities, should pronounce the greater excommunication against the infringers of the *great charter*, though it were but in word or counsel;’ for so saith the statute. I shall, for farther satisfaction, repeat the excommunication or curse pronounced both in the days of Henry the Third and Edward the First.

The sentence of the curse given by the bishops, with the king’s consent, against the breakers of the *great charter*.

IN the year of our Lord 1253, the third day of May, in the great hall of the king at Westminster, in the presence, and by the consent, of the lord Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, and the lord Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother; Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England; Humphrey, earl of Oxford; John, earl Warren; and other estates of the realm of England; we Boniface, by the mercy of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, F. of London, H. of Ely, S. of Worcester, E. of Lincoln, W. of Norwich, P. of Hereford, W. of Salisbury, W. of Durham, R. of Exeter, M. of Carlisle, W. of Bath, A. of Rochester, T. of St. David’s, bishops, apparelled in pontificals, with tapers burning, against the breakers of the church’s liberties, and of the liberties and other customs of this realm of England, and namely these which are contained in the charter of the common liberties of England, and charter of the *forest*, have denounced sentence of excommunication in this form: By the authority of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c. of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of all apostles, and of all martyrs, of blessed

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' Edward king of England, and of all the saints of
 ' heaven; we excommunicate and accurse, and from
 ' the benefit of our holy mother, the church, we fe-
 ' quester, all those that hereafter willingly and mali-
 ' ciously deprive or spoil the church of her right; and
 ' all those that by any craft or willingness do violate,
 ' break, diminish, or change the church's liberties and
 ' free customs contained in the charters of the common
 ' liberties, and of the *forest*, granted by our lord the
 ' king, to archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of
 ' England, and likewise to the earls, knights, and other
 ' freeholders of the realm; and all that secretly and
 ' openly, by deed, word, or counsel, do make statutes,
 ' or observe them being made, and that bring in cus-
 ' toms, to keep them, when they be brought in,
 ' against the said liberties, or any of them, and all
 ' those that shall presume to judge against them; and
 ' all and every such person before mentioned, that
 ' wittingly shall commit any thing of the premises,
 ' let them well know, that they incur the aforefaid
 ' sentence, *ipso facto*.'

The sentence of the CLERGY against the breakers of
the *articles* before-mentioned.

IN the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy
 Ghost, Amen. Whereas our sovereign lord the
 king, to the honour of God, and of holy church, and
 for the common profit of the realm, hath granted for
 him, and his heirs for ever, these articles above-writ-
 ten, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of
 all England, admonished all his province once, twice,
 and thrice, because that shortness will not suffer so
 much delay as to give knowledge to all the people of
 England, of these presents in writing: we therefore
 enjoin all persons, of what estate soever they be, that
 they and every of them, as much as in them is, shall
 uphold and maintain these articles granted by our so-
 vereign lord the king, in all points: and all those
 that in any point do resist or break, or in any manner
 hereafter procure, counsel, or in any wise assist to resist
 or

or break those ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of pretence or colour; we, the aforesaid archbishops, by our authority in this writing expressed, do excommunicate and accurse, and from the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the company of heaven, and from all the sacraments of holy church, do sequester and exclude.

We may here see, that in the obscurest times of *popery*, they were not left without a sense of justice, and a care of freedom: and that even *Papists*, whom many think no friends to liberty and property, under dreadful penalties, enjoin an inviolable observance of this great charter, by which they are confirmed. And though I am no Roman Catholick, and as little value their other curses pronounced upon religious Dissenters, yet I dare declare ingenuously, I would not, for the world, incur this curse; as every man deservedly doth, that offers violence to the fundamental freedoms thereby repeated and confirmed. And that any church, or church officers, in our age, should have so little reverence to law, excommunication, or curse, as to be the men that either vote or countenance such severities as bid defiance to the curse, and tear this memorable charter in pieces, by disseising freemen of England of their freeholds, liberties, and properties, without *juries*, or merely for the inoffensive exercise of their conscience to God in matters of religion, is a civil sort of sacrilege.

I know it is usually objected, ‘ That a great part of the charter is spent on the behalf of the Roman church, and other things, now abolished; and if one part of the great charter may be repealed, or invalidated, why not the other?’

But to this I answer, That the true fundamentals in the charter are not the less firm or forcible, or inviolable for that; because they do not stand upon that *act*, though it was in honour of them, but the *ancient* and *primitive institution* of the *kingdom*. If the *petition*

of right were repealed, the *great charter* were nevertheless in force; it not being the original establishment, but a declaration and confirmation of that establishment. But those things that are abrogable, or abrogated in the great charter, were never a part of the fundamentals, but hedged in by the *clergy*, and allowed by the *barons* upon present emergency. Besides, that which I have hitherto maintained to be the common and fundamental law of the land, is so reputed, and farther ratified, by the *petition of right*, 3 Car. I. which was long since the *church of Rome* lost her share in the *great charter*. Nor did it relate to matters of faith and worship, but temporalities only; the civil interest, or propriety, of the church. But with what pretence to mercy or justice, can the *Protestant church* retain the *English part* of the charter, without conforming to *Rome*, and yet now *cancel* the English part itself to every *free-born Englishman* that will not conform to her? But no more of this at this time; only give me leave to remind a sort of active men in our times, that the cruel infringers of the people's liberties, and violaters of these noble laws, did not escape with bare excommunications and curses; for such was the venerable esteem our ancestors had for these great privileges, and deep solicitude to preserve them from the defacings of time, or usurpation of power, that king Alfred executed *forty judges*, for warping from the ancient laws of the realm. Hubert de Burgo, chief justice of England, in the time of Edw. I. was sentenced by his peers in open parliament, for advising the king against the *great charter*. Thus the Spencers, both father and son, for their *arbitrary rule* and *evil counsel* to Edw. II. were exiled the realm. No better success had the actions of Tresilian and Belknap: and as for Empson and Dudley, though persons of quality, in the time of king Henry the Seventh, the most ignominious death of our country, such as belongs to theft and murder, was hardly satisfaction enough to the kingdom, for their *uncharteral* proceeding. I shall choose to deliver it in the words of chief justice Coke,
a man

a man whose learning in the law hath, not without reason, obtained him a venerable character of our English nation.

‘ There was,’ saith he, ‘ an act of parliament made in the 11th year of king Henry the Seventh, which had a fair flattering preamble, pretending to avoid divers mischiefs; which were, first, to the high displeasure of Almighty God. Secondly, the great let of the common law. And, thirdly, the great let of the wealth of this land. And the purven of that act tended, in the execution, contrary, *ex diametro*, viz. To the high displeasure of Almighty God, and the great let, nay, the utter subversion of the common law, and the great let of the wealth of this land, as hereafter shall appear; the substance of which act follows in these words:’

“ **T**HAT from henceforth, as well justices of as-
“ fize, as justices of the peace, in every
“ county, upon information for the king before them
“ made, without any finding or presenting by twelve
“ men, shall have full power and authority, by their
“ discretion, to hear and determine all offences, as
“ riots, unlawful assemblies, &c. committed and
“ done against act or statute made, and not re-
“ pealed, &c.”

‘ By pretext of this law, Empson and Dudley did commit upon the subject insufferable pressure and oppressions; and therefore this statute was justly, soon after the decease of Hen. VII. repealed at the next parliament, by the statute of 1 Hen. VIII. chap. 6.’

‘ A good caveat,’ says he, ‘ to parliaments, to leave all causes to be measured by the golden and strait metewand of the law, and not to the uncertain and crooked cord of discretion.’ He goes on,

‘ It is almost incredible to foresee, when any maxim, or fundamental law of this realm is altered, (as elsewhere hath been observed) what dangerous

'inconveniences do follow: which most expressly ap-
 'pears by this *most unjust and strange act* of the 11th
 'of Hen. VII. For hereby not only Empson and
 'Dudley themselves, but such justices of peace (cor-
 'rupt men) as they caused to be authorized, com-
 'mitted most grievous and heavy oppressions and ex-
 'actions: grinding the faces of the poor subjects by
 'penal laws (be they never so obsolete or unfit for the
 'time) by information only, without any presentment
 'or trial by jury, *being the ancient birthright of the sub-
 'jects*; but to hear and determine the same by their
 'discretions; inflicting such penalty as the statutes,
 'not repealed, imposed. These and other like op-
 'pressions and exactions, by the means of Empson and
 'Dudley, and their instruments, brought infinite trea-
 'sure to the king's coffers; whereof the king himself,
 'at the end, *with great grief and compunction, repented,*
 'as in another place we have observed.

'This statute of the 11th of Hen. VII. we have
 'recited, and shewed the just inconveniences thereof;
 'to the end that the like should never hereafter be
 'attempted in any court of parliament; and that
 'others might avoid the fearful end of those two
 'time-servers, Empson and Dudley, *qui eorum vestigiis
 'insistant, exitus perborrescant.*' Thus much chief jus-
 tice Coke.

I am sure, there is nothing I have offered in defence
 of English law-doctrine, that riseth higher than the
 judgment and language of this great man; the pre-
 servation and publication of whose labours became the
 care of a great parliament. And it is said of no in-
 considerable lawyer, that he should thus express him-
 self in our occasion, 'The laws of England were ne-
 'ver the dictates of any conqueror's sword, or the
 'placita of any king of this nation; or,' saith he,
 'to speak impartially and freely, the result of any
 'parliament that ever sat in this land.'

Thus much for the nature of *English rights*, and the
 reason and justice for their inviolable maintenance. I
 shall

shall now offer some more general considerations for the preservation of property, and therein hint at some of those mischiefs that follow spoiling it for conscience sake, both to prince and people.

I. The reason of the alteration of the law ought to be the discommodity of continuing it; but there can never be so much as the least inconveniency in continuing that of *liberty* and *property*; therefore there can be no just ground for infringing, much less abrogating, the laws that secure them.

II. No man in England is born slave to another; neither hath one right to inherit the sweat of the other's brow, or reap the benefit of his labour, but by consent; therefore no man should be deprived of his property, unless he injure another man's, and then by legal judgment.

III. But certainly nothing is more unreasonable, than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man (being his natural and civil rights) for *religion*, where he is not found breaking any law relating to natural and civil things. Religion, under any modification, is no part of the Old English government. *Honestè vivere, alterum non lædere, jus suum cuique tribuere*, are enough to intitle every native to English privileges. A man may be a very good *Englishman*, and yet a very indifferent *churchman*. Nigh three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground, had the inhabitants of this island a *free government*. It is want of distinguishing between it and the modes of religion, which fills every clamorous mouth with such impertinent cries as this, 'Why do not you submit to the *government*?' As if the English civil government came in with *Luther*, or were to go out with *Calvin*. What prejudice is it for a *Popish landlord* to have a *Protestant tenant*; or a *Presbyterian tenant* to have an *Episcopalian landlord*? Certainly, the *civil affairs* of all governments in the world may be peaceably transacted under the different *liveries* or *trims* of religion, where civil rights are inviolably observed.

Nor is there any interest so inconsistent with peace and unity, as *that* which dare not solely rely upon the power of persuasion, but affects superiority, and seeks after an earthly crown. This is not to act the Christian, but the *Cæsar*; not to promote property, but party, and make a nation drudges to a sect.

Be it known to such narrow spirits, we are a free people by the creation of God, the redemption of Christ, and careful provision of our (never to be forgotten) honourable ancestors: so that our claim to these English privileges rising higher than the date of Protestantism, can never justly be invalidated for non-conformity to any form of it. This were to lose by the Reformation; which God forbid! I am sure it was to enjoy property, with conscience, that promoted it. Nor is there a much better definition of Protestantism, than "*Protesting against spoiling property for conscience.*" I must therefore take leave to say, that I know not how to reconcile what a great man lately delivered in his eloquent speech to the house of lords. His words are these:

' For when we consider religion in parliament, we are supposed to consider it as a parliament should do, and as parliaments in all ages have done; that is, as it is a part of our laws; a part, and a necessary part, of our government: for as it works upon the conscience, as it is an *inward principle* of the *divine life*, by which good men do govern all their actions, *the state hath nothing to do with it*: it is a thing which belongs to another kind of commission, than that by which we sit here.'

I acquiesce in, and honour, the latter part of this distinction, taking it to be a venerable truth; and would to God mankind would believe it, and live it: but how to agree it with the former, I profess ignorance: for if the government had nothing to do with the principle itself, what more can she pretend over the actions of those men, who live that *good life*? Certainly, if religion be an inward principle of *divine life*, exerting itself by holy living, and that, as such, it belongs

belongs not to the commission of our superiors, I do with submission conceive, that there is very little else of religion left for them to have to do with: the rest merits not the name of religion, and less doth such a formality deserve persecution. I hope such circumstances are no necessary part of English government, that cannot reasonably be reputed a necessary part of religion: and I believe he is too great a divine and lawyer, upon second thoughts, to repute that 'a part of our laws, a part, and a necessary part of our government,' that is, such a part of religion as is neither the 'divine principle,' nor yet the 'actions immediately flowing from it;' since the government was most complete and prosperous many ages without it, and hath never known more perplexed contests and troublesome interruptions, than since it hath been received and valued as a part of the English government: and God, I hope, will forbid it, in the hearts of our superiors, that Englishmen should be deprived of their *civil inheritance* for their *nonconformity* to church formality: for 'no property out of the church,' (the plain English of publick severity for nonconformity) is a maxim that belongs not to the holy law of God, or common law of the land.

IV. If liberty and property must be the forfeit of conscience for nonconformity to the prince's religion, the prince and his religion shall only be loved as the next best accession to other mens estates, and the prince perpetually provoked to expose many of his inoffensive people to beggary, for what is no fault at common law.

V. It is our superiors interest, that property be preserved, because it is their own case: none have more property than themselves. But if property be exposed for religion, the civil magistrate exposes both his conscience and property to the church, and disarms himself of all defence upon any alteration of judgment. This is plainly for the *prince* to hold under the *prelate*, and the *state* to suffer itself to be rid by the *church*.

VI. It

VI. It obstructs all improvement of land and trade; for who will labour that hath property, or hath it exposed to an unreasonable sort of men, for the bare exercise of his conscience to God? And a poor country can never make a rich and powerful prince. Heaven is therefore heaven, to good and wise men, because they are to have an *eternal propriety* therein.

VII. This sort of procedure, hitherto opposed, on the behalf of property, puts the whole nation upon miserable uncertainties, that are followed with great disquiets and distractions; which certainly it is the interest of all government to prevent: the reigns of Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. Q. Mary and Q. Eliz. both with relation to the marriages of the first, and the religious revolutions of the rest, are a plain proof in the case.

King *Henry* voids the pope's supremacy, and assumes it himself. Comes *Edw. VI.* and enacts *Protestancy*, with an oath to maintain it. 1 Q. *Mary*, ch. 1. this is abrogated; *Popery* solemnly restored; and an oath enforced to defend it: and this queen repeals also all laws her father made against the *pope*, since the 12th of Hen. VIII. Next follows Q. *Elizabeth*, and repeals *her* laws, calls back *Protestancy*, ordains a new oath, to un-oath queen *Mary's* oath: and all this under the penalty of losing *estate, liberty*, and sometimes *life* itself; which, thousands, to avoid, lamentably perjured themselves, *four or five times over*, within the space of twenty years. In which sin, the clergy transcended: *not an hundred for every thousand*, but left their principles for their parishes. Thus hath conscience been debauched by force, and property tossed up and down by the impetuous blasts of ignorant zeal, or sinister design.

VIII. Where liberty and property are violated, there must always be a state of force: and though I pray God that we never need those cruel remedies, whose calamitous effects we have too lately felt, yet certainly, self-preservation is of all things dearest to men; inasmuch that being not conscious to themselves of having done an ill thing, they, to defend their unforfeited

feited privileges, chearfully hazard all they have in this world; so very strangely vindictive are the sons of men, in maintenance of their rights. And such are the cares, fears, doubts, and insecurities of that administration, as render empire a slavery, and dominion the worst sort of bondage to the possessor. On the contrary, nothing can give greater chearfulness, confidence, security and honour to any prince, than ruling by law; for it is a conjunction of title with power, and attracts love, as well as it requires duty.

Give me leave, without offence (for I have God's evidence in my own conscience, I intend nothing but a respectful caution to my superiors) to confirm this reason, with the judgment and example of other times. The governors of the Eleans held a strict hand over the people; who, despairing of relief at home, called in the Spartans, and by their help freed all their cities from the sharp bondage of their natural lords.

The state of Sparta was grown powerful, and oppressed the Thebans: they, though but a weak people, whetted by despair, and the prospect of greater miseries, did, by the Athenians, deliver themselves from the Spartan yoke.

Nor is there any other considerable reason given for the ruin of the Carthaginian state, than avarice and severity. More of this is to be found in Ralegh's History of the World, l. 3. who hath this witty expression in the same story, l. 5. of a severe conduct: 'When a forced government,' saith he, 'shall decay in strength, it will suffer, as did the old lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the wolf, gored by the bull, and *kicked* also by the *ass*:' the senseless mob.

This lost Cæsar Borgia his new and great conquests in Italy. No better success attended the severe hand held over the people of Naples, by Alphonso and Ferdinand. It was the undue severity of the Sicilian governors, that made the Syracusians, Leontines, and Messenians, so easy a conquest to the Romans. An harsh answer to a petitioning people lost Rehoboam
ten

ten tribes. On the contrary, in Livy, Dec. 1. l. 3. we find, that Petilia, a city of the Brutians in Italy, chose rather to endure all extremity of war from Hannibal, than upon any condition to desert the Romans, who had governed them moderately, and by that gentle conduct procured their *love*; even then, when the Romans sent them word, 'they were not able to relieve them, and wished them to provide for their own safety.'

N. Machiavel, in his Discourses upon Livy, p. 542. tells us, 'That one act of humanity was of more force with the conquered Falisci, than many violent acts of hostility:' which makes good that saying of Seneca, *Mitius imperanti melius paretur*; 'They are best obeyed, that govern most mildly.'

IX. If these ancient fundamental laws, so agreeable with nature, so suited to the dispositions of our nation, so often defended with blood and treasure, so carefully and frequently ratified by our ancestors, shall not be, to our great pilots, as stars or compass for them to steer the vessel of this kingdom by, or limits to their legislature; no man can tell how long he shall be secure of his coat, enjoy his house, have bread to give his children, liberty to work for bread, and life to eat it. Truly, this is to justify what we condemn in Roman Catholics. It is one of our main objections, that their *church* assumes a power of imposing *religion*, thereby denying men the liberty of walking by the rules of their own *reason* and *conscience*, and precepts of *holy writ*: to whom we oppose both. We say, the church is tied to act nothing contrary to reason; and that holy writ is the declared law of heaven; which to maintain, power is given to the true church. Now let us apply this argument to our civil affairs, and it will certainly end in a reasonable limitation of our legislators, that they should not impose that upon our understandings, which is inconsistent with them to embrace; nor offer any the least violation to common right. Do the Romanists say, 'Believe as the church believes?' Do not the Protestants, and, which is harder,

harder, legislators, say so too? Do we say to the Romanists at this rate, 'Your obedience is blind, and your ignorance is the mother of devotion?' Is it not also true of ourselves? Do we object to them, 'This makes your religion uncertain, one thing to-day, and another to-morrow?' Doth not our own case submit us to the like variation in civils? Have we not long told them, that, 'under pretence of obeying the church, and not controuling her power, she hath raised a superstructure inconsistent with that foundation she pretends to build upon?' And are not we the men in civils, that make our privileges rather to depend upon men than laws, as she doth upon councils, not scripture? If this be not popery in temporals, what is?

It is humbly beseeched of superiors, that it would please them to consider what reflection such severity justly brings upon their proceedings; and remember, that in their ancient delegations, it was not to define, resolve, and impose matters of religion, and sacrifice civil privileges for it; but, to maintain the people's properties, according to the ancient fundamental laws of the land, and to add such statutes only, as were consistent with, and preservative of, those fundamental laws.

Lastly, To conclude this head: my plain and honest drift has been, to shew that *church* government is no essential part of the old *English* government, and to disintangle property from opinion; the untoward knot which the clergy for several ages have tied, which is not only the people's right, but our superiors interest to undo; for it galls both people and prince. For, where property is subjected to opinion, the church interposes, and makes something else requisite to enjoy property, than belongs to the nature of property; and the reason of our possession is not our right by, and obedience to, the *common law*, but conformity to *church law*, or laws for church conformity. A thing dangerous to civil government, since it is an alteration of old *English* tenure, a suffering the church to trip up

up and supplant the state; and a making people to owe their protection not to the *civil* but *ecclesiastical* authority. For let the church be my friend, and all is well; make her my foe, and I am made her prey, let *magna charta* say what she will for me: my horses, cows, sheep, corn, goods, go first, my person to gaol next, for all that: behold, some *church trophies* made at the conquest of a peaceable Dissenter!

This is that anxious thing: may our superiors please to weigh it in the equal scale of "doing as they would be done by:" let those common laws that fix and preserve property, be the rule and standard of their legislation and administration. Make *Englishmen's* rights as inviolable as *English church* rights: disintangle and distinguish them: and let no man sustain *civil punishments* for *ecclesiastical faults*, but for sins against the ancient, established *church government* only; that the natures of acts and rewards may not be confounded. So shall the civil magistrate preserve law, secure his civil dignity and empire, and make himself beloved of Englishmen; whose cry is, and the cry of whose laws have ever been, 'Property rather than opinion; civil rights not concerned with ecclesiastical discipline, nor forfeitable for religious nonconformity.'

But though an inviolable preservation of English rights of all things best secureth to our superiors the love and allegiance of the people; yet there is something farther, that, with submission, I offer to their serious consideration, which in the second place concerns their interest, and the people's felicity: and that is their disagreement about religion, notwithstanding their unanimous cry for property; a prudent management of which may turn to the great quiet, honour, and profit of the king and kingdom.

C H A P. II.

Of our superiors governing themselves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the several religious interests.

II. Of a balance respecting religious differences. Eight prudential reasons why the civil magistrate should embrace it. Three objections answered. A comprehension considered, but a toleration preferred, upon reason and example.

TO perform my part in this point, being the second branch of my answer to the question, I shall not at this time make it my business to manifest the inconsistency there is between the Christian religion, and a forced uniformity; not only because it hath been so often and excellently done by men of wit, learning and conscience, and that I have elsewhere largely delivered my sense about it; but because every free and impartial temper hath of a long time observed, that such barbarous attempts were so far from being indulged, that they were most severely prohibited by Christ himself; who instructed his disciples, “to love “their enemies,” and not to persecute their friends for every difference in opinion: that the tares should grow with the wheat: that his kingdom is not of *this* world: that *faith* is the gift of God: that the *will* and *understanding* of men are faculties not to be worked upon by any corporal penalties: that TRUTH is all-sufficient to her own relief: that *error* and *anger* go together: that *base coin* only stands in need of *imposition* to make it current, but that *true metal* passeth for its own *intrinsic value*; with a great deal more of that nature. I shall therefore choose to oppose myself, at this time, to any such severity, upon mere prudence; that such as have *no* religion (and certainly they that *persecute* for religion, have as little as need to be) may be induced to tolerate them that have. First, Howe-
ver

veradvisable it may be, in the judgment of some worldly-wise men to prevent, even by force, the arising of any *new opinion*, where a kingdom is universally of another mind; especially if it be odious to the people, and inconsistent with the safety of the government; it cannot be so, where a kingdom is of *many* minds, unless some one party hath all the wisdom, wealth, number, sober life, industry, and resolution on its side; which I am sure is not to be found in England. So that the wind hath plainly shifted its corner, and consequently obliges to another course: I mean, England's circumstances are greatly changed, and they require new expedients, and another sort of application.

Physicians vary their medicines according to the revolution and the mixture of distempers. They that seek to tie the government to absolute and inadequate methods (supposing them once apt, which cruelty in this case never was) are not friends to its interest; whatever they may be to their own. If our superiors should make it their business so to prefer *one party*, as to depress or deprive the *rest*, they insecure themselves, by making their friends their enemies, who before were one another's. To be sure it createth hatred between the party advanced, and those depressed. Jacob's preferring Joseph, put his brethren upon that conspiracy against him.

I will allow that they may have a more particular favour for the church party, than for any other persuasion, but not more than for all other parties in England: that certainly would break the balance; the keeping up of which, will make every party to owe its tranquility to their prudence and goodness, which will never fail of returns of love and loyalty. For since we see each interest looks jealously upon the other, it is reasonable to believe, they had rather the dominion should lodge where it is, while impartial in their judgment, than to trust it with any one sort of themselves.

Many

Many inquisitive men into human affairs have thought, that the concord of discords hath not been the infirmerst basis government can rise or stand upon: it hath been observed, that less sedition and disturbance attended Hannibal's army, that consisted of many nations, than the Roman legions, that were of one people. It is marvellous how the wisdom of that general secured them to his designs: Livy saith, 'That his army for thirteen years, that had roved up and down the Roman empire, made up of many countries, divers languages, laws, customs, religions, under all their successes of war and peace, *never mutinied.*' Malvetzy, as well as Livy, ascribes it to that variety, well managed by the general.

By the like prudence Jovianus and Theodosius Magnus brought tranquillity to their empire, after much rage and blood for religion.

In nature we also see, all heat consumes, all cold kills; that three degrees of cold to two of heat, not only allay the heat, but introduce the contrary quality, and overcool by a degree: but two degrees of cold, to two of heat, make a *poize* in elements, and a *balance* in nature.

The like in families: it is not probable that a master should have his work so well done, at least with that love and respect, who continually smiles upon *one* servant, and severely frowns upon all the *rest*; on the contrary, it is apt to raise feuds amongst servants, and turn duty into revenge, at least contempt. In fine, it is to make our superiors dominion less than God made it, and to blind their eyes, stop their ears, and shut up their breasts, from beholding the miseries, hearing the cries, and redressing the grievances of a vast number of people under their charge, vexed in this world, for their *belief* and inoffensive *practise* about the next.

Secondly, It is the interest of governors to be put upon no thankless offices; that is, to blow no coals in their own country, especially when it is to consume their people, and, it may be, themselves too: not to

be the cat's foot, nor to make work for themselves, or fill their own hands with trouble, or the kingdom with complaints. It is to forbid them the use of clemency, wherein they ought most of all to imitate God Almighty, "whose mercy is above all his works;" and renders them a sort of extortioners to the people, the most remote from the end and goodness of their office. In short, it is the best receipt that their enemies can give, to make them uneasy to the country.

Thirdly, It not only makes them enemies, but there is no such excitement to revenge, as a raped conscience. He that hath been forced to break his peace, to gratify the humour of another, must have a great share of mercy and self-denial to forgive that injury, and forbid himself the pleasure of retribution upon the authors of it: for revenge, in other cases condemnable of all, is here looked upon by too many to be the next way to expiation. To be sure, whether the grounds of their dissent be rational in themselves, such severity is unjustifiable with them; for this is a maxim with sufferers, 'Whoever is in the wrong, the *persecutor* cannot be in the *right*.' Men, not conscious to themselves of evil, and harshly treated, not only resent it unkindly, but are bold to shew it.

Fourthly, Suppose the prince, by his severity, conquers any into a compliance, he can upon no prudent ground assure himself of their fidelity, whom he hath taught to be treacherous to their own convictions. Wise men rarely confide in those whom they have debauched from trust to serve themselves: at best it resembleth but forced marriages, that seldom prove happy to the parties. In short, force makes *hypocrites*, it is *persuasion* only that makes converts.

Fifthly, This partiality, of sacrificing the liberty and property of all Dissenters to the promotion of a single party, be they good or ill men, as it is the lively representation of J. Calvin's *horrendum decretum*; so the consequences of the one belong unto the other; it being but that ill-natured principle put into *practice*. Men are put upon the same desperate courses, either
to

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to have no conscience at all, or to be hanged for having a conscience not fashionable: for, let them be virtuous, let them be vicious, if they fall not in with that *mode* of religion, they must be *reprobated* to all civil and ecclesiastical intents and purposes. Strange! that men must either deny their faith and reason, or be destroyed for acting according to them, be they otherwise never so peaceable. What power is this, or rather what principle? But that men are to be protected upon favour, not right or merit; and that no merit out of the publick church-dress should find acceptance, is severe. We justly blame that father, that narrows his paternal love to some one of his children, though the rest be not one jot less virtuous than the favourite: such injustice can never flow from a soul actuated by reason, but a mind governed by fancy, and enslaved to passions.

Sixthly, Consider, peace, plenty, and safety, the three great inducements to any country to honour the prince, and love the government, as well as the best allurements to foreigners to trade with it and transport themselves to it, are utterly lost by such partialities; for instead of peace, love, and good neighbourhood, behold animosity and contest! One neighbour watches another, and makes him an offender for his conscience: this divides them, their families and acquaintance; perhaps, with them, the towns and villages where they live: and most commonly, the sufferer hath the pity, and the persecutor the odium, of the multitude. And truly when people see cruelty practised upon their inoffensive neighbours, by a troublesome sort of men, and those countenanced by a law, it breedeth ill blood against the government. Certainly, haling people to gaols, breaking open their houses, seizing of their estates, and that without all proportion; leaving wives without their husbands, and children without their parents, and their families, relations, friends, and neighbours, under amaze and trouble, is almost as far from the peace of a well-

governed kingdom, as it is from the meekness of Christianity.

Plenty will be hereby exchanged for poverty, by the destruction of many thousand families within this realm, who are greatly instrumental for the carrying on of the most substantial commerce therein; men of virtue, good contrivance, great industry; whose labours not only keep the parishes from the trouble and charge of maintaining them and theirs, but help to maintain the poor, and are great contributors to the king's revenue by their traffick. This very severity will make more bankrupts in the kingdom of England in seven years, than have been in it upon all other accounts in seven ages: which consequence, how far it may consist with the credit and interest of the government, I leave to better judgments.

This sort of great severity that hath been lately, and still is, used amongst us, is like to prove a great check to that readiness, which otherwise we find in foreigners to trade with the inhabitants of this kingdom; for if men cannot call any thing their *own*, under a different exercise of conscience from the national way of religion, their correspondents may justly and prudently say, ' We will not farther concern ourselves
' with men that stand upon such ticklish terms: what
' know we but such persons are ruined in their estates,
' by reason of their *non-conformity*, before such time
' as we shall be reimbursed for money paid, or goods
' delivered: nay, we know not how soon those who
' are conformists, may be non-conformists, or what
' revolutions of councils may happen, since the fundamental laws, so jealous of the people's property,
' are so little valued by some of their own magistrates;
' for though we are told of very worthy and excellent
' laws in England, for the security of the people's
' rights, yet we are also told, that they all hang at
' the church's girdle; inasmuch as no *church-conformity*, no *property*; which is, *no churchman*, *no Englishman*. So that in effect the rights of their country
' depend upon the rights of their church; and those
' churches

‘ churches have taken their turn so often, that a body
 ‘ knows not how to manage one’s self securely to one’s
 ‘ own affairs, in a correspondence with any of them.
 ‘ For in king Henry the Eighth’s days, *Popery* was the
 ‘ only orthodox religion, and Zuinglius, Luther, Me-
 ‘ lancthon, Oecolampadius, &c. were great hereticks.
 ‘ In Edward the Sixth’s time, they were saints, and
 ‘ *Popery* was idolatry. A few years after, queen Mary
 ‘ makes the *Papists* holy church, and *Protestancy* heresy.
 ‘ About six years completes her time, and queen Eli-
 ‘ zabeth enters her reign, in which Protestants are
 ‘ good *Christians*, and the church of Rome the *Whore*
 ‘ of *Babylon*. In her reign, and that of king James,
 ‘ and king Charles the First, sprung the *Puritans*, who
 ‘ divided themselves into *Presbyterians*, and *Independ-*
 ‘ *ents*; the bishops exclaiming against them for *schis-*
 ‘ *matics*, and they against the bishops for *papistical*
 ‘ and *antichristian*. In the long parliament’s time, the
 ‘ *Presbyterian* drives out the *Bishop*. O. Cromwell de-
 ‘ feating them, and sending the *Presbyterian* to keep
 ‘ company with the *Bishop*, confers it mostly upon
 ‘ the *Independent* and *Anabaptist*, who kept it through
 ‘ the other fractions of government, till the *Presbyter*
 ‘ and *Bishop* got it *from* them: and the *Bishop* now
 ‘ from the *Presbyter*: but how long it will rest there,
 ‘ who knows?’ Thus a foreigner may justly argue.

Nor is my supposition idle or improbable, unless
 moderation take place of severity, and *property* the
 room of punishment for opinion; for that must be the
 lasting security, as well as that it is the fundamental
 right of *English people*.

There is also a farther consideration, and that is,
 the rendering just and very good debts desperate, both
 at home and abroad, by giving opportunity to the
 debtors of Dissenters to detain their dues. Indeed it
 seems a natural consequence with all, but men of
 mercy and integrity: ‘What should we pay them for,’
 may they say, ‘that are not in a capacity to demand
 ‘or receive it, at least to compel us?’ Nay, they may
 plead a sort of kindness to their creditors, and say,

‘ We had as good keep it; for if we pay it them,
 ‘ they will soon lose it; it is better to remain with us,
 ‘ than they should be pillaged of it by informers;’
 though want should in the mean time overtake the
 right owners and their families.

Nor is it unworthy of the most deliberate thoughts
 of our superiors, that the land already swarms with
 beggars; and that there is hardly so ready a course to
 increase their number, as the severe prosecution of
 Dissenters, both by making *them* such, and those that
 their employs have kept from begging all this while:
 so that though they immediately suffer, the kingdom,
 in the end, must be the loser. For besides a decay of
 trade, &c. this driving away of flocks of sheep, and
 herds of cattle, seizing of barns full of corn, break-
 ing open of doors and chests, taking away the best
 goods that those instruments of cruelty can find,
 sometimes *all*, even to a bed, a blanket, wearing appa-
 rel, and the very tools of trade, by which people ho-
 nestly labour to get their bread, till they leave men,
 women, and children, destitute of subsistence, will
 necessitate an extreme advance of the poor's rate in
 every parish of England, or they must be starved. O
 that it would please them that are in authority, to put
 a stop to this inhuman usage, lest the vengeance of
 the just God break forth farther against this poor
 land!

Safety, another requisite to an happy government,
 must needs be at an end, where the course oppugned
 is followed, by tempting people to irregular methods
 to be easy, or to quit the land. And truly it is but
 some prudent prince's proclaiming liberty of con-
 science within his territories, and a door is opened
 for a million of people to pass out of their native
 soil; which is not so extremely improved, that it
 should not want two or three hundred thousand fami-
 lies more than it hath, to advance it; especially at
 this time of day, when our foreign islands yearly take
 off so many inhabitants from us, who, from necessity,
 are made unable to stay at home. And as of contra-
 rics

ries there is the same reason, so let the government of England but give that prudent invitation to foreigners, and she maketh herself mistress of the arts and manufactures of Europe. Nothing else hath preserved Holland from truckling under the Spanish yoke, and being ruined above threescore years ago, and given her that rise to wealth and glory.

Seventhly, Nor is this severity only injurious to the affairs of England, but the whole Protestant world: for besides that it calls the sincerity of their proceedings against the Papists into question, it furnisheth them with this sort of unanswerable interrogatory: 'The Protestants exclaim against us for persecutors, and are they now the *very men themselves*? Was severity an instance of weakness in *our* religion, and is it become a valid argument in *theirs*? Are not *our* actions (once void of all excuse with them) now defended by *their own* practice? But if men must be restrained upon prudential considerations from the exercise of their consciences in England, why not the same in France and Germany, where matters of state may equally be pleaded?' Certainly, whatever shifts Protestants may use to palliate these proceedings, they are thus far condemnable upon the foot of prudence.

Eighthly, Such procedure is a great reflection upon the justice of the government, in that it enacts penalties inadequate to the fault committed; viz. That I should lose my liberty and property, fundamental civil privileges, for some error in judgment about matters of religion: as if I must not be a *man*, because I am not *such* a sort of religious man as the government would have me; but must lose my claim to all natural benefits, though I agree with them in civil affairs, because I fall not in with the judgment of the government in some points of a supernatural import, though no real part of the ancient government. Perhaps, instead of going to the left-hand, I go to the right: and whereas I am commanded to hear A. B. I rather choose to hear C. D. my reason for it being,

‘ the more religious influence the latter hath over me, than the former; and that I find by experience, I am better affected, and more religiously edified to good living.’ What blemish is this to the government? What insecurity to the civil magistrate? Why may not this man sell, buy, plow, pay his rents, be as good a subject, and as true an *Englishman*, as any *conformist* in the kingdom? Howbeit, fines and gaols are very ill arguments to convince sober mens understandings, and dissuade them from the continuance of so harmless a practice.

Lastly, But there is yet another inconvenience that will attend this sort of severity, that so naturally follows upon our superiors making conformity to the doctrine and worship of the church of England, the *sine quâ non*, or inlet to all property, and ground of claim to all English civil privileges; to wit, ‘ That they make a rod, for aught they know, to whip their own posterity with;’ since it is impossible for them to secure their *children* to the English church: and if it happen that any of them are never so conscientiously of another persuasion, they are liable to all the miseries that may attend the execution of those laws. Such a *king* must not be *king*, such *lords* and *commons* must not sit in parliament: nay, they must not administer any office, be it never so inferior, within the realm, and they never so virtuous and capable to do it: their very *patrimony* becomes a prey to a pack of lewd informers, and their persons exposed to the abuse of men, poor or malicious.

But there are three objections that some make against what I have urged, not unfit to be considered. The first is this: ‘ If the liberty desired be granted, what know we but Dissenters may employ their meetings to insinuate against the government, inflame people into a dislike of their superiors, and thereby prepare them for mischief?’

Ans. This objection may have some force, so long as our superiors continue severity; because it doth not only sharpen and excite Dissenters, but it runs many
of

of them into such holes and corners, that if they were disposed to any such conspiracies, they have the securest places and opportunities to effect their design. But what Dissenter can be so destitute of reason, and of love to common safety, as to expose himself and family, by plotting against a government that is *kind* to them, and gives him the liberty he desires, and that he could only be supposed, in common sense, to plot for?

To be sure, liberty to worship God, according to their several professions, will be, as the people's satisfaction, so the government's greatest security: for if men enjoy their property, and their conscience, which is the *noblest* part of it, without molestation, what should they object against, or plot for? MAD men only burn their own houses, kill their own children, and murder themselves? Doth kindness, or cruelty, most take with men that are themselves? H. Grotius, with Campanella, well observed, 'That a fierce and ' rugged hand was very improper for northern countries.' Englishmen are gained with mildness, but inflamed by severity. And many that do not suffer, are apt to compassionate them that do. And if it will please our superiors to make trial of such an indulgence, doubtless they will find peace and plenty to ensue. The practice of other nations, and the trade, tranquillity, power, and opulency, that have attended it, is a demonstration in the case, and ought not to be slighted by them that aim at as high and honourable things for their country. And if we had no other instance than our own 'intervals of connivance,' they were enough to satisfy reasonable men, how much more moderation contributes to publick good, than the prosecution of people for their religious dissent; since the one hath ever produced trade and tranquillity; the other, greater poverty and dissension.

The second objection, and by far the more weighty, runs thus:

Object. 'The king and parliament are sworn to ' maintain and protect the *church of England*, as established,

' blished, &c. therefore to tolerate *other* opinions is
' against their oath.'

Ans. Were the consequence true, as it is not, it were highly unreasonable to expect impossibilities at their hands. Kings and parliaments can no more make brick without straw than captives: they have not sworn to do things beyond their ability; if they have, their oaths are void. Had it been in his and their time and choice, when the church of England had been first disturbed with dissenting opinions, it might have reflected more colourably a kind of neglect upon them: but since the church of England was no sooner a church, than she found *some* sort of Dissenters, and that the utmost policy and severity of queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles the First, were not successful towards an absolute uniformity, why should it reflect upon them, that the church of England hath not yet rid herself of dissenting parties? Besides, it is notorious, that the late wars gave that opportunity to differing persuasions to *spread*, that it was utterly impossible for them to hinder, much less during the several years of the king's exile; at what time the present parliament was no parliament, nor the generality of the members of it scarce of any authority.

Let it be considered, that it was the study of the age to make people *anti-papistical* and *anti-episcopal*, and that power and preferment went on that side. Their circumstances therefore, and those of their ancestors, are not the same; they found the kingdom divided into several interests; and it seems a difficulty insuperable to reduce them to any *one* persuasion; wherefore, to render themselves masters of their affections, they must necessarily govern themselves towards them on a *balance*, as is before expressed; otherwise, they are put upon the greatest hazards, and extreme difficulties to themselves and the kingdom, and all to perform the uncharitable office of suppressing many thousands of inoffensive inhabitants, for the different exercise of their consciences to God.—It is not to
make

make them resemble Almighty God, the goodness of whose nature extends itself universally, thus to narrow their bowels, and confine their clemency to one single party.—It ought to be remembered, that *optimus* went before *maximus* of old; and that power without goodness, is a frightful sort of a thing.

But secondly, I deny the consequence, viz. ‘ That
 ‘ the king is therefore obliged to persecute Dissenters,
 ‘ because he, or the parliament, hath taken an oath
 ‘ to maintain the church of England:’ for it cannot be supposed or intended, that by maintaining *her*, they are to destroy the *rest* of the inhabitants. Is it impossible to protect her without knocking all the *rest* on the head? Do they allow any to supplant her clergy, invade her livings, possess her emoluments, exercise her authority? What would she have? Is she not church of England still, invested with the same power, bearing the same character? What grandeur or interest hath she lost by them? Are they not manifestly her protector? Is she not national church still? And can any of her children be so insensible, as either to challenge her superiors with want of integrity, because they had not performed impossibilities; or to excite them to that harshness, which is not only destructive of many thousands of inhabitants, but altogether injurious to their own interest, and dishonourable to a Protestant church? Suppose Dissenters not to be of the visible church, are they therefore unfit to live? Did the Jews treat strangers so severely, that had so much more to say than herself? Is not the king lord of wastes and commons, as well as inclosures? Suppose God hath elected *some* to salvation, doth it therefore follow he hath reprobated *all the rest*? And because he was God of the *Jews*, was he not therefore God of the *Gentiles*? Or were not the Gentiles his *people*, because the Jews were his *peculiar* people?

To be brief, they have answered their obligation, and consented to severe laws, and commanded their execution, and have not only preferred her *above* every interest in *England*, but *against* them, to render her
 more

more powerful and universal; till they have good reason to be tired with the lamentable consequences of those endeavours, and conclude, that the *uniformity* thereby intended, is a thing impracticable, as well as mischievous.

And I wonder that these men should so easily forget that great saying of king Charles the First, whom they pretend so often, and with so much honour, to remember, in his advice to the present king, where he saith,

‘ Beware of exasperating any factions, by the crossness and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon their differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion, wherein a *charitable connivance*, and *Christian toleration*, often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifieth, and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge upon those they count their persecutors; who are commonly assisted with that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the common notion of religion.’

So that we have not only the king's circumstances, but his father's counsel, upon experience, who yet saw not the end of one half of them, defending a charitable connivance, and Christian toleration of Dissenters.

Obj. 3. But it may be farther alledged, ‘ This makes way for *Poper*y, or *Presbytery*, to undermine the church of England, and mount the chair of pre-ferment; which is more than a prudential indulgence of different opinions.’

Ans. And yet there is not any so probable an expedient to vanquish those fears, and prevent any such design, as keeping all interests upon the balance; for so the *Protestant* makes at least six parties against *Poper*y, and the *church of England* at least five against *Presbytery*:

Presbytery: and how either of them should be able to turn the scale against five or six, as free and thriving interests as either of them can pretend to be, I confess I cannot understand. But if *one* only interest must be tolerated, which implies a resolution to suppress the rest, plain it is, that the church of England ventures her single party against six growing interests, and thereby gives *Presbytery* and *Poper*y by far an easier access to supremacy; especially the latter, for that it is the religion of those parts of Europe, which neither want inclination nor ability to prosper it. So that besides the consistency of such an indulgence with the nature of a Christian church, there can be nothing more in prudence adviseable for the church of England, than to allow of the balance propounded: in the first, no person of any real worth will ever the sooner decline her; on the contrary, it will give her a greater reputation in a country so hating severity: and next, it gives her opportunity to turn the scale against any one party that may aspire to her pulpits and endowments; and she never need to fear the agreement of all them to any such design; *Episcopacy* being not more intolerable than *Presbytery* in power, even to an Independency itself; and yet between them lies the narrowest difference that is among the dissenting interests in this kingdom.

But this seems too large and yielding, and therefore to find a medium, something that may compass the happy end of good correspondence and tranquillity, at least so to fortify the church of England, as that she may securely give law to all other religious interests, I hear a *comprehension* is pitched upon, and diligently pursued by both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, at least some of each party.

But if it becomes wise men to look before they leap, it will not be unadviseable for them to weigh the consequences of such an endeavour.

For, in the first place, there is no people I know in England, that stands at a greater distance from her doctrine, as it is maintained by her present sons, than the

the *Presbyterians*, particularly about *absolute reprobation*, the *person of Christ*, *satisfaction* and *justification*: and he must be a stranger in the religious contests of our times, that knows not this.

2. In the next place, none have governed themselves with a plainer denial, and more peremptory contempt of episcopacy, and the whole discipline and worship of the church of England, than the *Presbyterians* have ever done: let them put me to prove it, if they please, even of their 'most reverend fathers.'

3. Who knows not that their reciprocal heats about these very things, went a great way towards our late lamentable civil wars? Now if the same principles remain with each party, and that they are so far from repenting of their tenaciousness, that on the contrary they justify their dissent from one another in these matters, how can either party have faith enough to rely upon each other's kindness, or so much as attempt a comprehension? What must become of the labours of bishop Whitgift, R. Hooker, bishop Bancroft, bishop Laud, &c. in rebuke of the "Presbyterian Separation," and the names of those leading Dissenters, as Cartwright, Dod, Bradshaw, Rutherford, Galaspee, &c. so famous among the present *Presbyterians*, and that for their opposition to the church? This considered, what reason can any render, why the *Episcopalians* should so singularly provide for, and confide in, an interest that hath already been so destructive to theirs? On the other hand, with what prudence may the *Presbyterians* embrace the other's offer, who, to be sure, intend it not in stark kindness to them, and who, they must needs think, cannot but owe revenge, and retain deep grudges for old stories? But,

4. The very reason given for a comprehension, is the greatest that can be urged against it; namely, 'The suppression of other dissenting persuasions.' I will suppose a comprehension, and the consequences of it, to be an eradication of all *other* interests, the thing desired: but if the two remaining parties shall
fall

fall out, as it is not likely that they will long agree, what can the Presbyterian have to balance himself against the ruling power of Episcopacy? Or the Episcopalian to secure himself against the aspirings of Presbytery? They must all become *Episcopalians*, or *Presbyterians*, else they will mix like *iron* and *clay*, which made ill legs for the image in Daniel: nor is it to be thought, that *their* legs should stand any better upon a comprehension.

But some are ready to say, 'That their difference is very minute:' Grant it; are they ever the more deserving for that? Certainly, forbearance should carry some proportion with the greatness of the difference, by how much it is easier to comply in small than great matters. He that dissents *fundamentally*, is more excusable than those that sacrifice the peace and concord of a society about *little circumstances*; for there cannot be the same inducement to suspect men of obstinacy in an *essential*, as *circumstantial* non-conformity.

Besides, how far can this accommodation extend with security to the church of England? Or, on what better terms will the Presbyterians conform to her discipline and formal acts of devotion, than those upon which Peter du Moulin offered to preach the gospel at Rome? viz. 'That if the pope would give him leave to preach at Rome, he would be contented to preach in a *fool's coat*.' I question if the Presbyterian can go so far; I am sure he could not; and as sure, that Peter du Moulin hoped, by preaching there in a fool's coat, to inculcate that doctrine which should *un-mitre* the pope, and alter his church; the very thing the church of England fears, and fences against. For Peter du Moulin intended to preach in a fool's coat no longer, than till he had preached the people wise enough to throw it *off* again. So the Presbyterians; they may conform to certain ceremonies (once as sinful to them, as a fool's coat could be ridiculous to Peter du Moulin) that they may the better introduce their alterations both in doctrine and discipline.

But

But that which ought to go a great way with our superiors in their judgment of this matter, is not only the benefit of a balance against the presumption of any one party, and the probability, if not certainty, of their never being overdriven by any one persuasion, whilst they have others that will more than poize against the growing power of it; but the conceit itself, if not altogether impracticable, is at least very difficult to the promoters, and an office as thankless from the parties concerned.

This appears in the endeavours used for a comprehension of *Arrians* and *Homoousians* under *one orthodoxy*, related not only in our common ecclesiastical history, but more amply in the writings of Hilary, an enemy to the Arrians, and Mariana's Spanish history. Their publick tests, or comprehensive creeds, were many, Nice, Ariminum, Sirmium, &c. in order to reconcile both parties, that neither might stigmatize the other with the odious crime of heresy: but the consequence of all this convocation and prolix debate was, that neither party could be satisfied, each continuing their former sentiments, and so grew up into stronger factions, to the division, distraction, and almost destruction of the whole empire; recovered a little by the prudent moderation of Jovianus, and much improved, not by 'a comprehension,' but restoration of a 'reasonable liberty of conscience,' by Theodosius Magnus.

Also in Germany, about the time of the Reformation, nothing seemed more sincere than the design of union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians: for Luther and Zuinglius themselves, by the earnest endeavours of the Landgrave of Hesse, came together; but the success was so small, notwithstanding the Grave's mediation, that they parted scarcely civil: to be sure, as far from unity as controversy is.

Luther and cardinal Cajetan met for a composition of the breach betwixt the *Protestants* and the *Pope*, but it was too wide for those conferences to reconcile: no comprehension could be practicable. A second essay
to

to the same purpose, was by Melancthon, Cassander, and others; the consequence of it was, that the parties were displeased, and the heads suspected, if not hated of their followers. Nor had Bucer's meeting with Julius Pflug any better success.

And how fruitless their endeavours have been, that with greatest art and industry have, of a long time, endeavoured a reconciliation of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, is well known to those that are acquainted with the affairs of Germany; and such as are not, may furnish themselves from the publick relations given by those that are employed about that accommodation: where, besides a dull and heavy progress, the reader may be a witness of their complaint, not only that both parties are too tenacious, but that the mediators suffer detraction for their good endeavours; each side grudging every tittle they yield, and murmuring as if they were to lose their religion. And if persons so disinterested, and worthy in their attempts, have had no better issue, I cannot see how those who seem compelled by worldly interest, more than conscience, to seek and propagate a comprehension, especially when it determines in the persecution of the rejected persuasions, can, with any reason, expect from God, or good men, any better success.

Lastly, There is nothing any man, touched with justice and mercy, can alledge for a comprehension, that may not much better be urged for a toleration; for the church is less in danger when she knows the worst, than where the danger is hid: five enemies without doors being not so mischievous as one within. But they are also men, and Englishmen, as well as those of other persuasions: their faith is as Christian, they believe as sincerely, live as conscientiously, are as useful in the kingdom, and manage their dissent with as much modesty and prudence, the church of England herself being in great measure judge, as those on whose account a comprehension may be desired: to be sure they are Englishmen, and have an equal claim to the civil rights of their native country, with any that live

in it; whom to persecute, whilst others, and those no better men in themselves, are more than tolerated, is, as I have already said, 'The unreasonable and uncivil doctrine of *absolute reprobation* put in practice in *civils*: from which the Lord deliver us.'

C H A P. III.

A sincere promotion of general and practical religion.

III. Of *general* and *practical* religion. That the promotion of it is the only way to take in, and stop the mouth of, all persuasions, being the center to which all parties *verbally* tend, and therefore the station for a prudent *magistrate* to meet every interest in: the neglect of it pernicious: instances: that it is the *unum necessarium* to felicity here and hereafter.

I AM now come to the last, which, to be sure, is not the least part of my answer to the question propounded, viz. 'The sincere promotion of *general* and *practical* religion;' by which I mean the *ten commandments*; or *moral law*, and *Christ's sermon upon the mount*, with other heavenly sayings, excellently improved, and earnestly recommended, by several passages in the writings of his disciples, which forbid *evil*, not only in *deed*, but *thought*; and enjoin *purity* and *holiness*, as without which, *no man*, be his pretences what they will, *shall ever see God*. In short, general, true and requisite religion, in the apostle James's definition, is, 'To visit the widow and fatherless, and to keep ourselves,' through the universal grace, 'unspotted of the world.' This is the most easy and probable way, to fetch in all men professing God and religion: since every persuasion acknowledges this in words, be their lives never so disagreeable to their confession. And this being the *unum necessarium*, that one thing needful, to make men happy here and hereafter, why, alas! should men sacrifice their accord in
this

this great point, for an unity in minute or circumstantial things, that perhaps is inobtainable, and if it were not, would signify little or nothing, either to the good of human society, or the particular comfort of any, in the world which is to come?

No one thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among men, than their uncharitable contests about religion! indeed about words and phrases! whilst they all verbally meet in the most, if not only, necessary part of Christian religion: for nothing is more certain, than if men would but live up to one half of what they know in their own consciences they ought to practise, their edge would be taken off, their blood would be sweetened by mercy and truth, and this unnatural sharpness qualified. They would quickly find work enough at home, each man's hands would be full by the unruliness of his own passions, and in subjecting of his own will; and instead of devouring one another's good name, liberty, or estate, compassion would rise, and mutual desires to be assistant to each other, in a better sort of living. Oh! how decent, and how delightful would it be, to see mankind, the creation of one God, that hath upheld them to this day, of one accord, at least in the weighty things of God's holy law!

It is want of practice, and too much prate, that have made way for all the incharity and ill-living that is in the world. No matter what men *say*, if the devil keep the house. Let the grace of God, the *principle of divine life* (as a great man lately called it in his speech) but be heartily and reverently entertained of men, that teaches us to deny all ungodliness, and converse soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present evil world, and it is not to be doubted but tranquillity, at least a very amicable correspondence, will follow.

Men are not to be reputed good by their *opinions* or *professions* of religion; nor is it that which ought to engage the government, but *practice*; it is this that must *save* or *damn*. Christ, in his representation of the

great day, doth not tell us, that it shall be said to men, 'Well *said*, or well *talked*,' but "Well *done*, "good and faithful servant:" neither is the "Depart from me," directed to any, but the *workers of iniquity*. Error is now translated from the signification of an *evil life*, to an *unsound proposition*; as *philosophy* is from the *mortification of evil desires*, and *well-living*, to an *unintelligible way of wrangling*. And a man is more bitterly harrassed for a *mistaken notion*, though the party holding it thinks it not so, and the party charging it denies an infallible judgment (so that it may as well be true as false, for all them) than for the *most dissolute or immoral life*. And truly it is high time that men should give better testimony of their Christianity: for *cruelty* hath no share in Christ's religion; and *coercion* upon conscience is utterly inconsistent with the very nature of his kingdom. He rebuked that zeal which would have "fire come down from heaven, to devour "Dissenters," though it came from his own disciples; and forbad them to pluck up the *tares*, though none had a more gentle or infallible hand to do it with.

He preferred mercy before sacrifice; and therefore we may well believe, that the unmerciful sacrifices some men now offer, I mean 'imprisoning persons, 'spoiling of goods, and leaving whole families destitute of subsistence,' as well as disinheriting them of all civil privileges in the government, are far from being grateful to him, who therefore came into the world, and preached that heavenly doctrine of forbearing, and loving of enemies, and laid down his most innocent life for us, whilst we were rebels, that by such peaceable precepts, and so patient an example, the world might be prevailed upon to leave those barbarous courses. And doubtless, very lamentable will their condition be, who, at the coming of the great Lord, shall be found "beaters of their fellow-servants."

In vain do men go to church, pray, preach, and stile themselves believers, Christians, children of God, &c. whilst such acts of severity are cherished among
 them;

them; and any disposition to molest harmless neighbours for their conscience, so much as countenanced by them. A course quite repugnant to Christ's example and command. In short, the promoting of this general religion, by a severe reprehension and punishment of vice, and encouragement of virtue, is the interest of our superiors, several ways:

1. In that it meets with, and takes in, all the religious persuasions of the kingdom; for all pretend to make this their corner-stone. Let them be equally encouraged to square their building by it. 'Penal laws for religion, is a church with a sting in her tail;' take that out, and there is no fear of the people's love and duty. And what better obligation or security can the civil magistrate desire? Every man owns the text; it is the *comment* that is disputed. Let it but please him to make the *text only* sacred and necessary, and leave men to keep company with their own meanings or consequences, and he does not only prudently take in all, but suppresseth nice searches, fixes unity upon materials, quiets present differences about things of lesser moment, retrieves humanity and Christian clemency, and fills the kingdom with love and respect to their superiors.

2. Next, a promotion of general religion, which, being in itself practical, brings back ancient virtue. Good living will thrive in this soil; men will grow honest, trusty, and temperate; we may expect good neighbourhood and cordial friendship; one may then depend more upon a word, than now upon an oath. How lamentable is it to see people afraid of one another; men made and provided for of one God, and that must be judged by that one eternal God, yet full of diffidence in what each other says, and most commonly interpret, as people read Hebrew, all things backward!

3. The third benefit is, that men will be more industrious, more diligent in their lawful callings; which will increase our manufactures, set the idle and poor to work for their livelihood, and enable the several

counties with more ease and decency to maintain the aged and impotent among them. Nor will this only help to make the lazy conscientiously industrious, but the industrious and conscientious man chearful at his labour, when he is assured to keep what he works for; and that the sweat of his brows shall not be made a forfeit for his conscience.

4. It will render the magistrate's province more facile, and government a safe as well as easy thing. For, as Tacitus says of Agricola's instructing the Britons in arts and sciences, and using them with more humanity than other governors had done, that it made them fitter for government; so if practical religion, and the laws made to maintain it, were duly regarded, the very nature of men, now wild and froward by a prejudiced education and cross and jealous interests, would learn moderation, and see it to be their greatest interest to pursue a sober and amicable conversation; which would ease the magistrate of much of his present trouble, and increase the number of men fit to govern; of which the parliament-times are an undeniable instance. And the truth is, it is a piece of slavery to have the regiment of ignorants and ruffians; but there is true glory in having the government of men, instructed in the justice and prudence of their own laws and country.

Lastly, It is out of this nursery of virtue, men should be drawn to be planted in the government; not what is their opinion, but what are their manners and capacity? Here the field is large, and the magistrate has room to choose good officers for the publick good. Heaven will prosper so natural, so noble, and so christian an essay; which ought not to be the least consideration with a good magistrate; and the rather, because the neglect of this practical religion hath been the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, among Heathens, Jews and Christians. This laid Tarquin low, and his race never rose more. How puissant were Lacedæmon and Athens of Greece, till luxury had eaten out their severity, and a pompous living, contrary

trary to their excellent laws, rendered their execution intolerable? And was not Hannibal's army a prey to their own idleness and pleasure; which, by effeminating their natures, conquered them, when the whole power of Rome could not do it? What else betrayed Rome to Cæsar's ambition, and made way for the after-rents and divisions of the empire; the merit, as well as conquest and inheritance, of a well-governed people for several ages, as long as their manners lasted? The Jews likewise were prosperous, while they kept "the judgments and statutes of their God;" but when they became rebellious and dissolute, the Almighty either visited them from heaven, or exposed them to the fury of their neighbours. Nothing else sent Zedekiah to Babylon, and gave him and the people a victim to Nebuchadnezzar and his army.

'Neglect of laws, and dissolute living,' Andrew Horne, who lived in the time of Edward the First, as before cited, tells us, 'was the cause of the miserable thralldom and desolation the Britons sustained by invaders and conquerors.' And pray, what else hath been the English of our sweeping pestilence, dreadful fires, and outrageous factions of late years? Hundreds of examples might be brought in this case; but their frequency shall excuse me.

Thus have I honestly and plainly cleared my conscience for my country; and answered, I hope, modestly, and though briefly, yet fully, the import of the question propounded, with honour to the magistrate, and safety to the people, by an happy conjunction of their interests. I shall conclude,

That as greater honour and wisdom cannot well be attributed to any sort of men, than for our superiors, under their circumstances, to be sought to by all persuasions, confided in by all persuasions, and obeyed by all persuasions, and to make those persuasions know that it is their interest so to do, as well as that it is the interest of our superiors they should, and to which the expedients proposed naturally tend; so, for a farther inducement to embrace it, let them be constantly

remembered, that the interest of our English governors is like to stand longer upon the legs of the English *people* than of the English *church*; since the one takes in the strength of *all* interests, and the other leaves out all but *her own*: and it may happen that the English *church* may fail, or go travel again; but it is not probable that the English *people* should do either; especially while *property* is preserved, a balance kept, general religion propagated, and the world continues.

May all this prevail with our superiors to make the best use of their little time: remembering, in the midst of all their power and grandeur, that they carry mortality about them, and are equally liable to the scrutiny and judgment of the last day, with the poorest peasant; and that they have a great stewardship to account for: so that moderation and virtue being their course, they, for the future, shall steer, after having faithfully discharged that great trust reposed in them, by God and this free people, they may, with comfort to their souls, and honour to their names and actions, safely anchor in the haven of eternal blessedness: so prays, with much sincerity,

An English Christian man,

And their true friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

A C O R O L -

A C O R O L L A R Y.

THAT the people are under a great dissatisfaction: that the way to quiet differences, and render contrary interests subservient to the interest of the government, is,

First, To maintain inviolably the rights of it, viz. *liberty and property, legislation and juries*, without neglect. That slighting and infringing them hath been the injury of *prince and people*, and early or late the ruin of the contrivers of so ill designs; and when all has been done, the only expedient has been, to come back again to *English law*. This takes in all, pleases all, because it secures and profits all. Sacrificing privileges for the sake of conformity, makes a breach upon the civil government, alienates the people's affections from their prince, lodges property in the church, so as none can come at it, but through obedience to her rites, for she at this rate has the keeping of it; a thing unknown, as well as unsafe, to the ancient English government.

2dly, That the prince govern himself upon a balance towards all religious interests: that this best poizes parties to his security, renders him master of an universal affection, and makes him truly and safely prince of all his country: but the contrary course narrows his justice and mercy, makes the government to shine but upon one part of the kingdom; to be just but to one party, and disinherit the rest from their birthright: that this course ends in great disadvantage to the peace, plenty, and safety of prince and people.

3dly, and lastly, Instead of being uncharitable, severe and cruel for modifications, let the debate about them sleep, and general and practical religion be promoted, that which receives an amen in every man's conscience, from the *principle of divine life* (as the lord

lord keeper well called it) in every breast; that all agree in the *most weighty* doctrines; and that nothing will sooner sweeten mens blood, and mollify their natures, than employing that time and pains they bestow on fruitless contests, in *living up* to what they both *know, believe, and accord in*: that this leaves men to keep company with their *own* comments, and makes the *text only* sacred, and holy living *necessary*, not only to heavenly but earthly places, I mean preferments: whence *virtue* becomes the door to *favour*, and *conscience* (now smothered in the croud of sinister interests) the noble rule of living.

God Almighty, if it please him, beget noble resolutions in the hearts of our superiors to use these plain and safe expedients; that charity may supplant cruelty, contest yield to good life, and present distances meet in a just and kind neighbourhood.

Great and honourable is that prince, and free and happy that people, where these things take place.

WILLIAM PENN.

A LETTER

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
PRINCESS and COUNTESS,*
A T
HERTFORD in GERMANY.

Published in the Year 1676.

JESUS be with your spirits; the immaculate Lamb of God, and glorious light of the world, his pure Spirit redeem you from the evil and ignorance that are in it, and replenish you with his everlasting righteousness, whose end is peace and assurance for evermore.

Noble of *this* world, but *more* noble for your enquiry after the TRUTH, and love to it, the same whereof hath sounded to the ears of some of us in this island, whom God hath made both his certain witnesses and messengers, through many and great tribulations, eternal, heavenly praises to his holy and powerful name, who lives and reigns over all principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions for ever.

I have had you, *worthy women*, oftē in my remembrance, with that honour which is not of this world;

* Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, countess of Hornes.

even

even then, when my soul has been in its purest retirements, not only from all visibles, but from their very ideas in the mind, and every other imagination; resting with the Lord in his own sabbath, which is the *true silence* of all flesh indeed, which profits above the formal Christian's bodily exercise. And in these heavenly sequestrations of soul, and true resignation unto the divine will of my Father, have I taken a most clear prospect of you, and every circumstance that may be fit for me to know; your education, your quality, your dignity, the envy of the clergy, the fury of the rabble, and the strength and power of temptation, arising from all these considerations, if possible to smother your blessed beginnings; and, as so many bands of soldiers, employed and commissioned of their great prince of darkness, to watch, and hinder Jesus from rising in you. In a weighty sense of all which, my heart opens itself unto you in God's counsel, after this manner: Be faithful to that you know, and obedient to that which God by the light of his Son makes manifest in your own consciences. Consult not away the pure and gentle strivings of the Holy Ghost: drown not his *still voice* with the croud of careful thoughts, and vain contrivances: break not the bruised reed, neither quench the smoking flax in yourselves. O! if you truly love Jesus, hear him: and since it hath pleased God in some measure, as with Paul, to reveal his blessed Son in you, consult not with flesh and blood, that are below the heavenly things; for that inherits not the kingdom of God: but, with sincere Mary, from a deep sense of the beauty, virtue, and excellency of that life that is hid with Christ in God, wait out of all cumber, free from that running, willing, sacrificing spirit that is in the world, in the pure obedience, humiliation, godly death, or silence, at the feet of Jesus, choosing the better part, which shall never be taken from you: and Jesus will be with you, he will shed his peace abroad in the midst of you, even that which flows from the crystal streams of life, that arise from under the throne of God. Prepare,

pare, prepare to meet the Lord; for assuredly Jesus is risen, the faithful and true witness; and he is come, in "ten thousands of his saints," to judge this fallen Christian world. He that was dead, during the "Times, time, and half a time," is now alive, and lives for ever: nor shall hell, death, or the grave, get the dominion any more; but life and immortality shall spring as the morning without clouds. The setting-time of the Father is come; and all faces shall gather paleness, yea, and all knees shall smite and bow, and tongues shall confess to this his appearance; some to joy, others to misery: ages and generations have not known him; the earth has been covered with violence, oppression, uncleanness, rewards, gifts, blood, wrath, malice, pride, covetousness: yet God professed, and Christ confessed: a glorious church, a pompous worship, and as much religion (such as it was) as the world could hold: but O the idolatry! O the false witness! O the blasphemy and lying! O the profaneness of those, and these days! And why? Because their hearts thirsted after their carnal pleasures, more than after the living God. Their care was, and is, after what they shall eat and drink, and put on, the *old heathen life*, and not after the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it; that Jesus, the true Saviour, the immaculate Son of God, who by doing his Father's will faithfully and patiently, even unto death, left us an example, that we should follow his steps, and not live unto ourselves. And this is the abominablest idolatry, that of the soul to any other object, than the Lord and God of the soul. This is to set up something as God, over all that is called God, debasing, slighting, grieving, and quenching the Holy Spirit in the mean while. O how few think of this detestable idolatry! here is the first commandment broken; how then can people expect to have eternal life? But all the commands are broken: for God did not only prohibit *idolatry*, which is worshipping *another* God, but worshipping the true God vainly, falsely, with a vain mind, after an unprofitable manner, which

is

is an unsanctified frame of soul. And how has Christendom taken God's name in vain, and worshipped God in vain! What good is come of the ages of worship? What lusts are overcome? What evil repelled? Have not all manner of abominations reigned? Has not the truth been held in unrighteousness? And have not generations blessed God with their mouths, wherewith they have presently cursed men? Have not violence, avarice, oppression, cruelty, pride, passion, wrath, envy, vain sports, pleasures, and delights, filled the earth, under all the profession that has been made of Christ and God? Has he that has named the name of Christ, or that has called himself by that name, departed from iniquity? O, no; it may be truly said, that such have sought the Lord in vain. Why? Because not as Jacob's seed, who was a plain good man, but of rebellious Esau's stock. "You ask, and you have not." Why? Says James, "Because you ask amiss." They sought in a wrong nature, to feed the lusts of the same. Though they ask, they never receive; and though they knock, it will never be opened unto them: such can never find: for all worship towards God must stand in the name and nature of Jesus, or will never pierce the heavens. It will be in vain, it will profit nothing. So that this command is also broken. To say nothing of the frequent use of the name of God about every trivial thing in common conversation: *O God! O Lord Jesus!* and such like; for which, among other things, the Lord God will pour out of the vials of his wrath upon the nations: O blessed are they that fear always, and remember that severe saying of Jesus, "That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment," Mat. xii. 36.

Next, the *true sabbath* is neglected: for the gospel day is the *spiritual sabbath*, the day of redemption, deliverance, and salvation: they have sinned away this day, doing their own works, when they should have been at the true fast, the mystical abstinence, and humbled into the grave, doing the works of God: yet

yet talk of being freed from under the law, and under grace, while they live *without* law, grace, Christ, and God in the world, being led, not by the Spirit of God, (no, that is enthusiasm, fanaticism, familism, quakerism, &c.) but by their own wills, lusts, interests, and unregenerate appetites.

Rebellion has covered the earth: for there has not been an "honouring of their father and their mother;" for they have rejected the commands of their Father, casting his law behind their backs, not glorifying him as God their Father, when they knew him: and they have disregarded the advice of their mother, the true primitive church, that was redeemed with the precious blood of the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, and that washed her and purged her, not leaving in her either spots or wrinkles: for so he presented her to God his Father; so that she put off her old conversation, which was after the fashions and customs of this world, that she might be adorned with the robes of righteousness; fine linen, white, the mark of innocence; fitly trimmed for the delight of her beloved, her Jesus, her king, her law-giver, her maker, and her husband too, in whose chaste embraces she lives, his unspotted dear spouse for ever. Now, what is a church, but the redeemed flock, family, household or people of God? If then the church of Christ must be pure, the members that constitute that church must be pure: not by a vain and fictitious imputation, but a solid and real purification, redemption, and salvation unto righteousness. For faith in Abraham was a righteous act of obedience in his soul; therefore God imputed righteousness unto him: and blessed are his spiritual offspring for ever, whose faith overcomes, and is not overcome of, the world. For those are false faiths, forced and imaginary conceits, that cleanse not, which true faith doth; that works by that love, which conquers the world, and loves God above all; the highway to eternal life. So here the world hath been in the breach of another command, they have dishonoured their father and mother,

ther, and therefore have their days been few in the land of the living to God.

But the Christian world, so called, hath been defiled by cruelty, even to blood: "Thou shalt not kill," saith the Lord: little did some of the Jews think that they broke this law, when they "killed the prophets," "and stoned them that were sent unto them:" but what said their children? did they speak after the same note? No: 'Had we lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have done as they did:' and alas! they did worse. Where it is worth observing, that when the devil hath persecuted holy men to death, and finds that the way (to wit, death) by which he hopes to bury all with them, is the way by which their doctrine and endeavours shine more conspicuously and convincingly to others, he turns proselyte too, and says, 'These were good men also,' and puts his followers upon setting up the lamentation for the loss of those pious men; which, alas! he murdered; and of their words, and exterior forms, patches he up a *visible religion*; and then sits he as God, or like God, in the hearts of men and women. So that he will be visibly for religion, when he can no longer hinder. But this is to make him the greater deceiver, and to pass the more unquestioned and unsuspected.

This *lamentation* for the murdering of the prophets, admiration of their works, and building and adorning of their sepulchres, baffled the judgment of weak and simple people; but especially deceived the multitude, and rendered the *crucifixion* of *Jesus* more easy and tolerable. *Stephen* followed, then *James*, and soon after that time the bitter persecution of the *Christians*: but by that time kings received Christianity, ease and plenty flowed in. Who so pompous, magnificent, gaudy, worldly, as Christian bishops, their churches, officers, and people? Self-denying *Jesus* lost in the crowd; the true life of religion expired, and zeal extinguished; divisions arisen, and one bishop against another, even to death: nothing but *flattery*, *hypocrisy*, and *conformity* could well tell how to live in the 4th, 5th,

5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, and so to our days. Now the rivers of blood spilt by *Jews* and *Heathens*, become a great swelling *sea*, by *Christian*, or rather *Anti-Christian persecutions*: now it is that all councils and synods are convened in design, held in faction, and broke up in self-interest. No liberty of conscience in those days; no one must dare to buy or sell, civilly or spiritually, but they must first have the mark of that church and state: O monstrous degeneracy! here is Christ again crucified in the streets of Sodom and Egypt, in the hearts and lives of the sons and daughters of men. So that here are not only thousands of *martyrs* of Jesus, but *Jesus*, the *Lord*, once more martyred, the true and faithful witness: and they have, in all ages, hired and set soldiers, who are killers by profession, to watch against his rising. Now is the church in the wilderness, the place of obscurity and shelter: this was the winter-season, the time of sackcloth and ashes: now all were merry, sending gifts one to another, in their revels and masquerades over the slain witness of the Lord: here is the bloodiest, and therefore the wofullest, of all murders.

But this is not all; they proceed to the next commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." And this they have fearfully broken; for Christendom, so called, hath committed adultery most notoriously; and consequently broken God's holy law: for alas! alas! has she not forsaken the everlasting fountain, the spring of immortal life, that is pure for ever, and hewn out to herself cisterns that will hold no water? Has she not deserted her first love, and her first works? And has she not flung herself into the embraces of another lover, whereby she has divorced herself from the *living God*, and joined to an *apostate spirit*, by whom numerous is her unclean issue, and many are her abominations that she has brought forth, even such of them as were neither known to Jew or Heathen? This is she that hath "committed fornication," with all

the powers upon the earth, whom she hath bewitched to her *cup*, and her *bed*.

But the day of the terrible vengeance of God is come, and coming, in which she and her gallants and merchants shall come to judgment: and the remnant of the true woman's seed, that has been sojourning as poor pilgrims in the desolate wilderness with her, are come forth leaning on the breast of her Beloved, to whom she has been, though a poor and banished, yet a faithful spouse, during this long and tedious reign of Antichrist, the whore, beast, false prophet, and dragon, which is the devil: And because her dear husband is "King of kings, and Lord of lords," and has all power in heaven and earth, and that it becomes her to be, if his wife, a glorious queen; therefore hath he ordained that she shall no more sit as one desolate and forsaken, clothed in sackcloth, which is the garment of heaviness; but shall be crowned with the stars, clothed with the sun, and the moon shall be under her feet; that is, the changeable world, with all its temporary glory, shall be her foot-stool. Then needs must she be exalted above the "Whorish woman," whose highest throne was but the true and heavenly woman's foot-stool. In this day Judah shall dwell safely, and Israel shall be glad.

But we must not stop here; for the priests have been like troops of thieves by the highway-side, that have robbed by consent, and 'like priest, like people:' for first, it has been the practice of the clergy, of all lands, to insinuate themselves, by their policy and flatteries, into the favour of the princes of this world, and thereby procured to themselves *large taxes* on the people; not only to their better maintenance, but to their being upheld in worldly pomp and grandeur, and the amassing of base treasures to them and their temporal kindred, for which there is neither precept nor example in holy scripture, unless it be, that the false prophets were wont to prepare war of old against such as refused to "put into their mouths;" that is, to incense the civil magistrate against them, as enemies

mies to the government, his religion established by law. O! but the false Christian has herein transcended all former ages! How many millions have they got, not for feeding, but starving, the souls of millions? And that which greatly aggravates their sin, is their forgery, alledging the authority of heaven by a mere counterfeit commission; impiously using God's name, to palliate their design; and, by the credit his excellent name has with the works of his hands, to obtain to themselves an almost infinite wealth.

But this is not all the robbery I charge Christendom with; for they have, both priest and people, been confederate with the grand robber, the devil, in robbing God of his honour and prerogative, which is the hearts and affections of the sons and daughters of men: for when the great Creator made his first settlement upon man and woman, he gave them the earth here, and the heaven hereafter, for their inheritance, and that to them and their heirs for ever. Providing always, that they gave this acknowledgment to their great Lord, that their *hearts* should be *his*; a small and reasonable chief-rent: but they rebelled, and so forfeited their right, and came under the curse, from whence Christ came to deliver their offspring: some were restored; it was his work to do so, and to build upon the waste places. But not many ages after, an apostacy comes; not as at unawares, or by chance; it was foreseen, its beginnings, continuings, and end. During this apostacy, the devil has sat as God, and therefore is called the "God of this world, and prince of the power of the air, that rules,"—Where? in the saints? in the sanctified? no such matter! Where then? "In the hearts of the children of disobedience, that obey not the truth as it is in Jesus."

Thus hath God been robbed of his honour, propriety, and prerogative, and they have been given to another than the only true and living God. Some have made over their hearts to worldly honour and preferment: others to earthly riches: others to pleasures: others to uncleannesses: others to their outward

and temporal comforts: O! many ways there are to forget the Lord.

But the robbery ends not here; man loseth his own soul: and what can he give, in the dreadful day of account, in exchange for his poor soul? People have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage: they have robbed themselves of their own peace, and of their eternal inheritance with God, when time shall be no more. Which leads me to the next commandment, as amply broken as any of the rest, viz. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." For alas! there has been no true one borne by Christendom, since the primitive days: and how should she? since she has slain the faithful and true witness, and crucified him in her streets: nay, and done her endeavour to root out all his friends and brethren, yea, if possible, to extinguish the very life of the Son of God in all that live upon the earth. Nor could she compass all these tragical designs, had she not made use of *false witnesses*. For she has been induced to hire people to swear lies, in all ages, against the witnesses of Jesus, as the Jews did to Jesus and his disciples.

When did she imprison, banish, kill, but under the notion of schismatick, heretick, blasphemers, enemy to God, Christ, and holy church, with the like pretences? Is not this to give false witness against innocent neighbours? But this is not all which proves the breach of this commandment; the whole life of Christendom does it too amply and too lamentably: for are they not false witnesses, who affirm things they never saw, and make profession of things they do not know? If so, when did Christendom see, taste, and handle of the word of eternal life, which she verbally professeth, which is as a fire, an hammer, an ax, a two-edged sword, the word of regeneration, of reconciliation, and of patience, an holy *light* and *lamp* to the soul? Which brings me to the last head, being the substance and matter of it, viz. 'The blasphemy and lying of 'Christendom, so called.'

This

This great beast rose out of the filthy *sea*, the corrupt ages of this world, long after the primitive times; hath *beads*, which is, perfection of wit and policy; and *ten horns*, that is, *mighty power*: has had, and yet hath, the name of blasphemy writ upon all his heads; that is, a profession of God in words, whilst he is denied in works; the grand destructive *atheism* of the world; it is the blasphemy of all blasphemies, to call God Father, when born of the devil: what! to intitle the pure God to such an impure offspring? To live in the vanities, and pleasures, and lusts of this world; and yet to say, "Is not God our Father, and is not the Lord on our side?" No, he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, much more than to own the children of sin, or to have communion with them: "What hast thou to do to take my name into thy mouth; that hatest to be reformed? Though thou criest I will not hear, and though thou callest I will not answer. Behold, I will make them known to be of the synagogue of Satan, that say, they are Jews, and are not." And this is the greatest of all lies, the lie that is in the "right hand," the place of greatest strength and esteem; religion and worship: to say they are Christians, and are not: to profess Christ in the history, and crucify him in the mystery: to confess to his outward coming, and resist his inward appearance in themselves: to keep the day of his external birth, while they make merry over him, slain and crucified in their own heathenish *hearts*; rebelling against his *light* in their own consciences, which is Christ's *day* to them, and Christ is God's everlasting day: O what will be the end of such! "Ye uncircumcised in heart and ear, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, as did your fathers, so do ye:" and yet ye call yourselves the seed of Abraham, and children of God, but love and choose a murderer and Barabbas, rather than CHRIST, the Son of the living God. Oh! what more abominable lie can be told than this? And will not all such be shut out, among them that work and make a lie, if they embrace not the day of their visitation,

and come to the truth, and by it be made free from every evil way?

This is that "*great iniquity*" which has profaned the "holy place;" that "curled abomination," which stood so long till it hath made desolate the place which God hath sanctified for himself, the *hearts* of the sons and daughters of men; the first and last *living temple* of God: every beast of prey, every unclean bird, has taken up their dwelling there; insomuch that God has been like a stranger to the noblest part of the workmanship of his own hands.

And though the Lord has not left himself without witnesses in any age; yet they were so few, and most of them, though accepted according to their day and work, yet so short as to the main work, that a remnant can say, when the Lord first opened the eyes of their understanding, the world lay in a great heap of wickedness, vanity, and confusion; all following the desires of their own hearts, to gratify the lusts of the same, living vainly and wantonly upon the earth: yea, the whole earth looked like one great wilderness, full of briars and thorns, birds and beasts of prey.

And when God poured out of the spirit of judgment and of burning upon us, not only making us sensible of his holy terrors in and for ourselves, but of that day of fiery trial he would suddenly overtake the world withal; "our faces gathered paleness, and our knees smote together; our hearts fainted; our lips quivered, and our bellies trembled: and all that we might rest in the day of trouble."

But while we were under the lightning and thunders, and great earthquakes, wars, and rumours of wars, such as had not been since the foundation of the world, as to us; (for the "Sun became darkened, and the moon was turned into blood, and none of the stars of the night appeared," while our agonies took strong hold upon us, and we were in the extremity of our pains) O the gazing-stock that we were made to all, yea, spectacles to God, angels, and men: some said, we were bewitched: others, that we were
strongly

strongly possessed of the devil : all astonished : parents beating and disowning of their children : children insulting over their parents : masters evilly entreating of their servants : servants abusing of their masters : the husband using violence to the wife : the wife becoming strange and unnatural to her own husband : and all most cruelly vexed, abused and tormented by the magistrates, through the wicked and unwearied instigations of the priests of all sorts, by jails, dungeons, whippings, stocks, pillories, plunders, &c. O the calamity ! O the bitter distress of that day ! And though we were but few in that day, and very low, poor, and even despicable in our own eyes ; yet were we exceeding strong and valiant in the “ Lord Jehovah ; our “ everlasting strength.” For our inward man daily renewed, and we greatly loved one another : but never till now did we truly know what CHRIST was, either in conception, birth, reproaches, sufferings, death, resurrection, or ascension ; a mystery to the whole Christian world at this day, who are not turned to the light of Jesus in their own consciences.

And as in the holy watch we kept, not being staggered at the reproaches of the men of this world, but, with Moses, choosing them, rather than the treasures and pleasures of Egypt, where our dear Lord lay crucified ; we exceedingly grew in the grace and favour of God, and we were very tender by any wandering thought, much more by any evil act, to grieve this Holy Spirit, or babe of righteousness, born in ourselves, whom we desired should reign, being overcome with joy that he was born that brought life with him to our immortal souls. And after we had staid at “ Jerusalem,” the city of our God and King, to receive his instructions, commission, and authority, abroad we went, upon the “ Pourings out of his Holy Spirit.” And we went, in the name and power of our God, to declare of his judgments, and to tell of his terrible day, to call all to repentance, and to prepare to meet the Lord, to make ready the way of our God ; who was coming to lay “ judgment to the line, and right-
S 4 “ teousness

“teousness to the plummet;” to examine, sift, and winnow the sons and daughters of men; to judge in righteousness; who will not be deceived by vain shews of religion; for he is a jealous God of his honour, and his glory will he give to no man, neither will he acquit the guilty, or punish the innocent.

But after this breaking-forth of ours, and publishing our message to the world, especially to professors, the Scribes and Pharisees take the alarm: finding their call, qualification, and credit, and, which is most of all in their eye, their maintenance, brought in question, and their whole kingdom shaking; *man-made* ministry being proved insufficient, *forced* maintenance antichristian, and that no man could know, much less preach, *divine things* without *divine revelations* and *inspirations*; and that no man was a true Christian, much less a true minister, that was not born of water and the spirit, fire and Holy Ghost; they raged greatly, dispatched their Sauls to Damascus, to the rulers of the nation, crying, ‘Help, help, or religion is lost, and the kingdom of Christ will go down; behold great deceivers and seducers, and false prophets; antichrists are risen, as was prophesied of, to come in the last days: now they are come, bestir yourselves, make laws, catch them, whip them, imprison them, banish and burn them.’

And truly, they lay in wait for blood, and several of us were tried for our lives, for blasphemers, haled out of their synagogues, for our pure testimony’s sake, some crying, ‘Knock the rogues down: they are witches,’ said others; ‘Devils,’ said others; ‘We have a law, and by our law they ought to die.’

They never wanted false evidence to produce, as well as that we were frequently made offenders for our true and savory words, whether in reproof or exhortation uttered, with our lives in our hands, in obedience to the heavenly vision. No justice, no mercy: if we escaped the multitude, the magistrate had the stocking, imprisoning, or whipping us: if we escaped the magistrate, the multitude, at the instigation of the priests,

priests, fell like so many greedy wolves, or hungry tygers, upon us, beating, and kicking and dragging of us, till some part of our flesh has been like a jelly, often breaking our heads and bones; and some they have murdered by the like barbarous usage: not daring all this while either to fly the place, or return them one railing accusation; committing our lamentable cause to God alone to plead our innocency, having no helper in the earth.

Nor were these things all our sufferings, or the depths of our tribulations: by no means; for the sharpest of our trials were from men of a religious profession, whose hearts contrived mischief, and their tongues and pens uttered it with all manner of slander and contradiction; insomuch that when we were not in the hands of the magistrates or multitude, we were almost perpetually employed in disputations and conferences, personal or by writings: on which occasion, the world loving its own, we had great difficulty and wrong; such perversions of our words and sayings, such flouts and jeers, such interruptions and noises, as would have been abhorred of sober heathens.

However, we bore it all, through the holy patience of Jesus; and in the end of these encounters with Ephesian-like-beasts, we rarely missed of some gained to the faith: and finding, at long run, that they could neither wrangle, slander, nor persecute us out of that testimony we had borne for the living God, and perceiving that the multitude began to flag, and would no longer be the instruments of their cruelty, taking notice of our great increase, notwithstanding all these oppositions; as also seeing that some of their own kindred and acquaintance were converted, whom they always confessed to be more religiously addicted than themselves, and that this change augmented both their virtue, and their tender love to their kindred; many gave over this way of proceeding, and some moderate respite we had for a time; but persecution by fits; that is, as at any time the clergy has prevailed with the civil magistrate: and because most, if not all, other
ways

ways of nonconformity hide and flink, using their politicks for self-preservation; and that we cannot desert our standard or testimony, (since it were to be accessary to the prevalency of darknes) therefore hath suffering been our lot above all other nonconformists; as our nation can witness.

But blessed be the name of the everlasting God, who hath been as a "pillar of fire by night, and a pillar " of cloud by day," and a "rock in a weary land," and a pure spring by the way-side; and has sustained us by the invisible cordials of his own love, life, peace, and joy; and in the ark of his eternal testament preserved us, making good to us what he promised of old, that the "old lions should be hungry, " and the young lions should lack their food, and the "youth should faint; but they that waited upon the " Lord, and trusted in their God, should renew their " strength; and no good thing would be withheld " from them: they should walk, and not be weary; " they should run, and not faint." Yea, he often compassed us about with many and precious promises; and so great was our resolution for the Lord, that, with Habakkuk, we could say; "Though the fig- " tree shall not blossom; neither shall fruit be in the " vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the " fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off " from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the " stalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy " in the God of our salvation: the Lord God is our " strength, and he will make our feet like hind's feet, " and he will make us to walk upon the high places;" and that hath he done many a time to our astonishment; for he hath given us power from on high " to " bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, " to tread upon the necks of our enemies, and to " possess the gates of them that once hated us." O I could write a volume of the judgments and mercies, and faithfulness of the Lord; who hath kept us, increased us, confirmed us, protected us, and comforted us to this very day: for which thousands are the souls
and

and spirits, that day and night, in *white linen*, the *raiment* of the *first resurrection*, bow and reverence, honour and praise, glorify and exalt him, that sits upon the throne, and the Lamb who is worthy for ever!

But much of that wonderment, suffering and reproach is over; the rigour of our enemies abated; and the blessed LIGHT and TRUTH in the conscience, becomes valuable in the esteem of many, and the sincere followers of it greatly respected; and that by persons of very great *quality*. And though the laws, oaths, and other customs of our country restrain men of authority from entirely falling in with us, or conferring any secular employments upon us; yet have they, with great importunity, sought to us in their own personal and family concerns, and reposed all trust and confidence in us. And blessed be the Lord, who hath kept us in the way of integrity, and that has so marvellously turned the hearts of the great ones of the earth, insomuch that we can say, when those that would be thought as the *heavens* have sought our destruction, *the earth*, mere worldly great men, have often helped the *woman*, and saved us from the raging envy of the Scribes and Pharisees: blessed be the name of the Lord our God; who is a God like unto him?

And farthermore this know: now that God hath made this passage in the land of our nativity, and cast his firm anchor of hope in the souls of many thousands in this island, he will suddenly break in upon the nations about us; and all these distressed, that now are in the bowels of Europe, are to prepare the way of the Lord. God will thin the people: he will pinch, pine, and wither countries; and into confusion shall Europe run more and more: and when their distress is complete, then shall they cry early and earnestly after the Lord. And welcome, O beauteous, shall the feet of them be, that bring glad tidings to the weary, and the distressed; and when Europe is brought so low, as to see "there is no helper in the *earth*," then shall *heaven* be in request; and to heaven shall
her

her inhabitants look; and from thence shall he come into their hungry souls, whom they have looked for.

And this is the word of the Lord, that lives in my soul to you; "The Lord, whom you look for, shall suddenly come to his temple," even your hearts. O prepare, prepare; make ready; watch unto his appearing in you, to make you a fit habitation for his holiness to dwell in. Let him have your whole hearts; let the mangers be for the beasts, and not for the Babe of Glory, whose very birth brings "Glory to God on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards men."

Yet sorrow goes before, and will gird all nations; for in that day, when they "shall see him whom they have pierced, all kindreds, tribes, and families, shall mourn, as one would sorrow for one's first-born, and be in bitterness as for one's only child." And with such shall it be well; for to them it will be not only a day of visitation, but redemption.

But wo unto the *idol shepherds*, in that day, who have fed themselves, and not the flock; who have run, and God never sent them; and cried, Thus said the Lord, and God never spake to them; and that have preyed upon the flock, and prepared war against those, that in conscience could not put into their hireling-mouths; that have been the great emissaries of the false prophet; and to all that commit sin with greediness, and will have none of the Lord, nor of the knowledge of his ways; but, with the priests and rulers of this world, that have drunk deep draughts of the blood of the saints, and martyrs of Jesus: from the eyes of such shall repentance be hid in that day, and their tongues will be scorched with the heat thereof; and they will utter blasphemies against the Most High, and their end will be eternal perdition.

"And behold, I stand at the door, and knock," saith the Lord God; "I am ready to be *revealed*." It shall not be said, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge:" but thus saith the Lord, "Every soul shall bear his *own* burden;
" and

“ and for the *iniquity* that he hath done, shall he *die*;
 “ unless he die to sin by unfeigned repentance: for
 “ my swift witness, who is faithful and true, is arising,
 “ and by him will I plead with all flesh.”

“ Wherefore, wo to all the inhabitants of the earth,
 “ that have cast my law behind their back, and grieved
 “ my Holy Spirit: that have taken counsel, and not
 “ of me, and that have forgotten me days without
 “ number: that have lived wantonly upon the earth,
 “ and consumed their days in pleasures: that have
 “ multiplied sacrifices unto me, but have not heark-
 “ ened unto my word: that serve me with their lips,
 “ while their hearts are far from me. That offer unto
 “ me incense, and yet oppress the Holy One of Israel
 “ with their iniquities: my soul loaths your assem-
 “ blies, and your sacrifices are an abomination unto
 “ me.”

“ O repent, repent: turn unto me; (why will you
 “ die?) that I may give you life: obey the light of
 “ my Son in your hearts, and ye shall yet live before
 “ me.”

“ And all you that separate yourselves from the
 “ multitude, in whom my Spirit has been stirring,
 “ but have quenched it with your own stirrings, and
 “ have made a fire of the sticks that you have gather-
 “ ed; and that compass yourselves about in the sparks
 “ of the fire that you have kindled, (which is not the
 “ fire that comes from heaven) behold, this shall you
 “ have at my hand; you shall all lie down in sorrow.”

“ Wherefore, hear and live: my sacrifice is in mine
 “ own Spirit; whose motions do thou wait for, in the
 “ silence of all flesh; and give up thyself, in obedi-
 “ ence unto the same, and I will touch thy heart with
 “ a coal from my own holy altar; and a *living* sacri-
 “ fice shalt thou offer unto me on my *sabbath-day*,
 “ in which thou shalt rest from *thy own* works, and
 “ therein shall my soul be delighted, and thou shalt
 “ rejoice before me: for with me, the Lord, is ever-
 “ lasting wisdom, strength, and refreshment.”

This

This is the ancient way of the Lord; this is the path of our God. To you I write, worthy and great women, that you may walk in it, and be of that number, which at this day, (wherein one cries, "Lo here," another, "Lo there") may lay hold on the skirt of the true Jew, the spiritual circumcision, revealing himself, it may be but as "a day of small things" at first, in your souls, that you may see him, the only rock to build upon, that your peace may be great in the Lord, when troubles are round about you. For by that shall the begotten of God be known, and eminently discovered in the days of universal calamity: tranquillity, patience, faith, and perseverance, shall conspicuously shine in their very countenances.

Something rose in my heart, to write of my own convincement to you, with what entertainment I received from kindred, acquaintance, rulers, &c. the many circumstances belonging to my conversion and travail; which, though inferior to your quality, might not be ungrateful or unserviceable to you. But I see it is not to be this season; besides, I have been very large already, yet all along in obedience to the love and life of my God in my soul, being herein acted beside all regard to worldly method, phrase, or contrivance, unworthy of them that take in hand to write of divine things at the will and appointment of God.

I commit and commend you to the word of Jesus, nigh in your hearts; in the holy watches of it to be kept and preserved, that the evil-one touch you not: and that this holy word, which is Christ, the Son of the living God, may be brought forth in you, have room in your hearts to live and grow, till you are replenished therewith. A great mystery it is, but very true, and to the children of light very plain, 'That he that brings *us* forth into the regeneration, is brought forth *in us*: the church is born of *Christ*, and Christ is born of the *church*:' wherefore the apostle wrote to the Galatians that he "travailed in birth again, till Christ was formed *in them*:" and what is this *virgin church*, but so many *virgin members*,
that,

that, being overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, conceives, and in the fulness of time brings forth, this glorious *man-child*, that is to rule the nations.

Wherefore, in that pure *virgin life*, live; where the sweet overshadowings of the holy life of Jesus are felt, that you may continually bring forth fruits to the honour and glory of the name of the Lord; which is the way to your eternal peace.

I have but one thing more, and I take my leave of you at this time; and that is, Remember the poverty, simplicity, self-denial, patience, and the cross of Jesus, I beg of you, by all that is dear and sacred to you: shrink not at his baptism, neither so much as temper with any latitude, that would evade his *bitter cup*. Let not his vinegar and gall be unpleasant, nor his crown of thorns troublesome: nor, last of all, let not his nails and spear be terrible to you: for they that will not forsake him in his agonies, but be the companions of his tribulations, and chearfully lay down their life, and die with him to the world; they, and none else, shall rise with him in the newness of life, and ascend with him to his Father, by him to be glorified, with that glory which he had with his Father before the world began.

Unto which kingdom God Almighty conduct you, through this earthly pilgrimage, Amen.

Yours, in that love and life which reigned before
sin or death had a being.

W. P.

A SUMMONS,

A
SUMMONS, OR CALL,
T O
CHRISTENDOM:

I N

An earnest Expostulation with her, to prepare for
that great and notable Day of the Lord, that
is at the Door.

Published in the Year 1675.

AWAKE, O Christendom! Awake, and come to
judgment; for the great and notable day of the
Lord is drawing apace upon thee: prepare to meet
him, thou and thy children, for the hour of his judg-
ment hasteneth upon you, as travail on a woman with
child, in which all your works shall be tried, and that
by fire: for "the day of the Lord shall burn as an
oven, and all the proud, and all that do wickedly,
shall be as stubble." Yea, "by fire and by sword
will the Lord God Almighty plead with all flesh;"
with all fleshly worshippers and workers, who live after
the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof: and with the spi-
rit of judgment, and the spirit of burning, that is,
with *spiritual* judgment and burning, will he visit all
ranks and regions upon the earth: yea, his holy ter-
rors

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rors shall take hold of the rebellious, and anguish and distress shall fill the souls of the guilty. The faces of nations shall gather paleness, and their knees smite together, because of the anger of God that is kindling against them, and his fierce wrath that is revealing from heaven against all the ungodly, but more especially against the children of the "Mystery of iniquity:" it is in this day that the kindreds of the earth shall mourn with a great lamentation.

O Christendom! Thou hast long sat as a queen, that should never know sorrow: great have been thy pretences, and large thy profession of God, Christ, Spirit, and scriptures: come, let me expostulate with thee and thy children, in the fear and presence of him that shall bring every word and work to judgment. *God is pure*, and the pure in heart *only* see him: now, are you pure? Do you see him? *God is a Spirit*, and none can worship him aright, but such as come to his *Spirit*, and obey it: do you so? *Christ* is the *gift* of God: have you received him in your hearts? Does he rule there? Then have you eternal life abiding in you: if not, you are not *true* Christians. The *Spirit of Truth* leadeth into all truth; and the children of God are born of it, and led by it. But are you led into all the holy ways of truth, born of this eternal Spirit? Then you follow not the spirit of *this* world; nor do your own wills, but the will of *God*. You profess the holy scriptures; but what do you witness and experience? What interest have you in them? Can you set to your seal they are true, by the work of the same Spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy ancients? What are David's roarings and praises to thee, that livest in the lusts of this world? What are Paul's and Peter's experiences to thee, that walkest after the flesh?

O you, that are called Christians, give ear a little unto me, for I am pressed in spirit to write to you: read with patience, and consider my words; for, behold, what I have to say unto you concerneth your eternal good.

" God

“ God hath so loved the world, that he hath sent
 “ his only-begotten *Son* into the world, that those that
 “ believe on him, should have eternal life.” And
 this Son is Christ Jesus, the true *light*, that lighteth
 every one coming into the world; and they that abide
 not in him, the *light*, dwell in *darkness*, in *sin*, and are
 under the region and shadow of death: yea, *dead in*
sin, and see not their own states, neither perceive the
 sad conditions of their own souls. They are blind to
 the things of God’s kingdom, and unsensible of true
 and spiritual *life* and *motion*, what it is to *live* to God;
 and, in that state, are alienated from God, without
 true judgment and living knowledge, and under the
 curse. For in Jesus Christ, the light of the world,
 are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,
 redemption and glory; they are hid from the worldly
 Christian, from all that are captivated by the spirit
 and lusts of the world: and whoever would see them
 (for therein consist the things that belong to their
 eternal peace) must come to Christ Jesus; the true
 light in their consciences, bring their deeds to him,
 love him and obey him; whom God hath ordained “ a
 “ light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation
 “ to the ends of the earth.” *Light* and *salvation* are
 joined together; and none can come to salvation, but
 as they come first to the light, and submit to the ma-
 nifestation of it, which leadeth to salvation. For
 “ the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in
 “ the light of the Lamb, Christ Jesus.” *Light* and
justification are also joined together: “ If we walk in
 “ the light, as God is in the light, the blood of Jesus
 “ Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin.” And
light and *life eternal* are joined together: “ For in the
 “ Word (that was with God in the beginning, and
 “ was God, by whom all things were made, that were
 “ made) was life, and the life was the light of men.”
 And this is the testimony of Jesus, “ I am the light
 “ of the world; he that followeth me shall not abide
 “ in darkness, but have the light of life:” yea, it is
 eternal life to believe in him, in Christ, the light, to
 T 2 receive,

receive, embrace, and to follow him. And “*that* “ was the *true* light,” saith the same beloved disciple, “ which lighteth every man that cometh into the “ world.” Now this light shineth in *darkness*, in the children of darkness, in their dark hearts, in their black souls, and defiled consciences; but in this darkness they comprehend it not: neither can man know the nature and benefit of it, whilst he rebelleth against it: for the virtue and excellency of it is shut up and hid from the “ children of disobedience.” To as many as received him of old, gave he power to become the children of God; and they that did his will, knew his doctrine to be of God, and of power and efficacy to their salvation.

But this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, that though God hath sent his Son, a light, into the hearts of all men and women, to manifest and reprove their evil deeds, and to save them; yet they love darkness, they love the lusts and imaginations of their vain hearts, better than this holy light, that is given unto them for salvation: they choose Barabbas rather than Jesus. Yea, they have set up other *lights*, than *Christ Jesus*, God’s great *light*; and other *prophets* than *Christ*, God’s great *prophet*; and other *priests* than *Jesus*, the *High Priest* of the new covenant: but they are *dark* lights, *false* prophets, and *blind* priests. “ All that came before me,” saith Christ, “ are thieves and robbers:” and all that pray, preach, sing, worship, &c. and not by the light and spirit of Jesus, they go *before* Christ, before Christ *cometh*, before he prepareth their hearts, and toucheth their lips, with a coal from his heavenly altar; and perform worship in their own will, time, and power, and stay not for his leadings. And therefore all such rob Christ of his office, who is the *leader* of the true Christians; their heavenly *high priest*, to anoint them, and offer up their sacrifice to God for them; and *prophet*, to let them see and know, by his light in their hearts, what they ought to do, according to the new and everlasting covenant; “ I will write my law in their hearts,

“ and

“ and put my spirit in their inward parts, and they
 “ shall be all taught of me, saith the Lord.”

Now this is the question to the whole world called Christians: Do you see with this divine light? Have you searched your hearts with it? And are you anointed by this High Priest with his holy unction, that leadeth into all truth? Doth this heavenly prophet give you vision, and reveal the Father to you? Is he your eye, your head, your wisdom? Do you live, move, and have your life and being in him, in praying, preaching, and singing, yea, in your whole conversation? Are you renewed into his life and image? And have you heard his voice, and seen his shape? Are you witnesses of his holy rebukes, his pure judgments, the shame and death of his cross? Is he the fountain of your knowledge? The author of your faith? O consider! are you of those that have spoke with Jesus? That have been taught in the school of his holy cross? Students in his heavenly academy? O have you drank of his cup, and been baptized with his baptism? Tell me, in the fear of the Lord God, you that call yourselves Christians, doth he go before you, and lead you, as a master teacheth his disciples, and a captain leadeth his soldiers? And do you follow him in all the weighty things of this life? And doth he order your minds, and rule your affections? If not, you are thieves and robbers; for you rob Christ of his office. For God hath appointed him to be the leader and ruler of all people; yea, it is God's decree; and those that he leadeth not, in their thoughts, words, and works, shall never come to God: for all must come to God *by* him, that is, by his *light* and *spirit* ruling in their hearts, which sanctifieth, regenerateth, and converteth the soul to God.

And the cause of the confusion and contention that is about religion in Europe at this day, is, that men have *deserted* this true *light* and holy *spirit*, and so are degenerated from the life and power of pure and unspotted religion, and have attempted to comprehend Christ's doctrines without Christ's light, and to know

the *things* of God, without the *Spirit* of God. And being thus miserably erred, by wicked works, from the *One Spirit* of *Truth*, they have wandered into the fallible *conceits* and *opinions* of *men*. And in this state one party hath contended against another: from *words* they have fallen to blows, and the strongest hath opposed the weakest. And not knowing what spirit they were of, have called light *darkness*, and darkness *light*; putting the sheep's skin upon the wolf, and the wolf's skin upon the poor sheep of Christ, endeavouring by carnal weapons to enforce their opinions, and to extort conformity, by worldly laws and punishments, to their *persuasions*. All this is out of the light, life, and doctrine of Christ Jesus, and in the spirit of darkness, confusion, strife, and bloodshed, which are of the *devil*. All which Babel must and shall come down, by the *light*, *power*, and *spirit* of Jesus, now rising in the world; and hell, death, and the grave, shall not be able to hinder it: for the set time, the appointed time of the Father, is come, and the judgment is begun.

O ye, that are called *Roman Catholics*, tell me, are you truly *catholic*, that is; of an *universal spirit*? Then you will not *persecute*, but love all, and be tender to all. Are you truly *Roman*, and *successors* of that ancient, apostolical church? Then you walk not after the *flesh*, but after the *Spirit*; yea, the Spirit of Christ dwelleth in you, and you are led by the *Spirit* of God, and can call him *Father* in truth and righteousness, and the *Word* of *God* in the heart is your teacher, and not the traditions of men; for so the *Romans* of old time were instructed. O consider, if you are true successors, you must follow them in the same nature, spirit, and life; for in that only standeth the *Christian succession*, to wit, in *Christ*: and every *branch*, person, or church, that abideth not in this great *vine*, is rejected for the fire. Therefore deceive not yourselves, as the Jews of old did, with crying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;" and saying, "We have Abraham to our father, and to us belong the fathers, covenants, law, priesthood, and chair
" of

“ of Moses :” for, as the apostle said of old, so say I to you ; “ His servants you are, to whom you obey ;” and “ He that committeth sin, is of the devil.” So that Christ’s *successors*, are they that take up his cross, follow him, and that abide in his holy doctrine, that keep his commandments, and themselves unspotted from the world. And those that follow the “ lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and pride of life,” are not of Christ, nor of the Father, but of the *world*, subjects to the prince of the power of the air, and successors of Sodom, Gomorrah, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, and persecuting Jerusalem ; and not of the harmless, self-denying, holy, suffering *spouse* of Christ Jesus, that is ruled in all things by her *husband*, her *head*, her *Lord*. O search and try, with the light of Jesus, if you are not degenerated from primitive simplicity and purity ? For great are the abominations of all sects, that flow like a deluge throughout your countries ! Repent, and turn to the ancient apostolical *spirit* and *life*, that you may enter into the *rest* of God.

O you that call yourselves *Evangelicks*, or *Gospellers*, are you *evangelical* ? Are you saved from the lusts, and pleasures, and dead worships of the world, by the mighty *power* of God, which is the *gospel*, and led by an evangelical spirit ? If not, you are not yet *redeemed*, you are not yet under *grace*, which is the *gospel state* : for you are not taught by it, but rebel against it ; how then are you true *gospellers*, men of *gospel-liberty*, men of deliverance and redemption ; to whom immortality is brought to light, (as it is to all that truly know and receive the blessed *gospel*) that are yet subjects and servants to *sin* ? How can you sing the *song* of the Lamb, that are not yet *delivered* by the Lamb ; but, by your vain conversations, crucify the Lamb, and do despite to the Spirit of grace, and that every day ? The true *gospellers* are those that receive the *angel’s message*, who is the great preacher of the everlasting gospel, viz. “ Fear God, give glory to his name, for “ the hour of his judgment is come ; and no more “ worship the beast.” Do you fear God, in truth and

in sincerity? Then are you fearful of offending the Lord, and tender of God's glory; then are your hearts kept clean, then are you wise to salvation; and so you can glorify God indeed: otherwise, your prayers and praises are not *evangelical* in God's sight.

But tell me, O ye Gospellers, is the hour of his judgment come to you? Is it begun at your houses yet? How do you feel it? Hath it broke your hearts? Hath it contrited your spirits? Have ye known the godly sorrow? The chastisements of the Lord, and rebukes of the Almighty? Hath his pure eternal word divided yet betwixt your soul and spirit, the joints and marrow? Have you ever been *weary* and *heavy laden* with sin; hath it been a burden to you? Did you ever cry out, in the agony of your spirits yet, "Men
" and brethren, what shall we do to be saved? O!
" who shall deliver us from the body of sin here,
" and the wrath to come!" (the travail of the holy ancients): if not, you are yet strangers to Christ and his kingdom: and if you die in that state, where he is gone, you shall never come. "For Sion," God's city, "must be redeemed through judgments, and her
" converts through righteousness: yea, the house of
" God cannot escape it:" wherefore said one of old,
" If judgment begin at the house of God, where shall
" the sinner and ungodly appear?" O wo to them that live without the judgments of the Lord! Wo to them that cast his reproofs behind their backs, and live in earthly pleasures, fattening up themselves in lusts and pleasures, as for the day of slaughter, and treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath. O the ancient saints lived not thus; they wrought out their salvation with "fear and trembling;" yea, they gave all diligence, to make their calling and election sure: which way do you work out yours? Habakkuk, that holy prophet, "his lips quivered, and his belly trembled,
" that his soul might rest in the day of trouble:" is this your state? Or, are you not rather worshippers of the *beast* at this day, lovers of the worldly, sensual, voluptuous life, walking in the lusts of the eye, the
lusts

lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life; like rebellious Israel of old, "forgetting God days without number?" But this know, that "all that *forget* God shall be "turned into hell."

O! what is become of the fatherly visitation made to your progenitors, those good beginnings sown in persecutions and martyrdoms? Have you answered the loving-kindness of God therein? Have you advanced in the way of righteousness? Are you become an holy nation, and a peculiar people of God, zealous of good works? But have you not betaken yourselves to the wisdom and learning of this world to make *ministers*, and deserted the *Spirit* of the *Lord*, and fled to the power and policy of this world, to defend and protect you, and not to the *name* of the *Lord*, which hath always been the strong tower of the righteous? Nay, are you not divided one against another, and turned persecutors for religion yourselves, denying that liberty to others, you took for yourselves? Ah! where is the royal law of "doing as you would be done unto?"

Thus have you decayed and degenerated into a worldly *clergy*, and a carnal *people*; holding and maintaining reformed words, in an unreformed spirit. Yea, are not the same evils, pride, passion, malice, wars, bloodshed, persecution, deceit, fleshly lusts, wantonness, vain pleasures and sports, yea, all manner of worldly-mindedness, to be found in you, that were in the persecutors of your fore-fathers, and against which your most serious and best ancestors faithfully testified? So that the difference now is about words and sentences, and not about the life, nature and spirit of "pure and undefiled religion:" and men are to be known now by their denominations and subscriptions to certain human creeds, man-made faiths and forms, and not by the spirit and image of Christ Jesus, by the nature of the true sheep, and by that holy unction, that was the bond of the heavenly fellowship of the saints of old.

And you, that are called *reformed*, with the rest of the subdivided sects, what better are you for your names?

names? Are ye regenerated yet? Are you reformed from the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life; from the devil, and all his works? Are you born of the incorruptible seed, that liveth and abideth for ever? And are you come out of the corruptible things, and doth Christ lead you? Is the government of your souls upon his shoulders? Tell me, is it the *new* birth, that which is born of God through many tribulations, the *new* man created in Christ Jesus, that calleth God *Father* in your prayers, and that maketh mention of him in your preachings? Or is it the *first* birth, of the *earth, earthly*, the old man, the corrupt and unregenerated nature, that which is born of the flesh, that is to say, of the seed of the evil-one, the father of all the fleshly lusts, inventions, imaginations and traditions of men, that taketh pleasure in the vain and wicked sports and pleasures of this apostate world, that forget God, and turn his grace into wantonness; reproaching, nicknaming, and persecuting the children of regeneration, with scornful names, and cruel punishments, calling God Father, as the Jews did; and crucifying Christ afresh by a vain conversation, at the same time.

O you degenerated Christians of all sorts, yea, all the several sects in Christendom, that have deserted your first love, and degenerated from the life and power of primitive godliness, with the light of Christ Jesus in your hearts, examine yourselves. "God hath lighted your candle," search and try yourselves; see how it standeth with you as to your eternal condition, before you go hence, and be no more in this world. Consider, are you in the true faith of Christ, or not? For without true faith none can please God; and without pleasing *him*, no man can be saved. The devils believe, yea, and *tremble* too; that is more than thousands called Christians do, and so far they are short of the very devils. Have you *faith*? Let us try it, in the name of God. What is it for faith? Doth it overcome the world? Doth it live, and depend, upon God? Can it forsake country and kindred? Turn out Ishmael?

Ishmael? Offer up Isaac? Live a pilgrim, a stranger in the world? Doth it work by that love, which can forsake all for Christ's name sake? Doth it fight against the devil? Resist his fiery darts? Overcome his assaults and temptations? And, finally, purify the soul to God's use? Is this your faith, O you carnal, outside Christians? No such matter; for you live in the flesh, fulfilling the lusts thereof; and your care is, what you shall eat, drink, and put on, and how you shall get the mammon, friendship, and glory, of this world. Examine yourselves, and prepare, for the day of the Lord hasteneth upon you. And have a care, lest you partake of the plagues that God hath prepared for Babylon; she that calleth herself the "*Lamb's bride*," and is an harlot, committing fornication throughout all nations and sects; that is, those who, by a *lying spirit*, have had their hearts seduced from God and his holy fear, yet in words professed to be his people; who call themselves *Jews*, but are not; *Christians*, and are not, but of the synagogue of Satan; being strangers to the circumcision in *spirit*, and the baptism that is with *fire*, and with the *Holy Ghost*: with *fire*, to consume the fleshly nature; and with the *Holy Ghost*, to beget the heavenly nature in man. O the downfall of this great city, and the desolation of this false church through all the sects in Christendom, is come, and coming! yea, in *one* day shall it be accomplished, even in the day of the appearance of Christ, who is the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, who, by the "brightness of his coming," and by the "breath of his mouth," in the hearts of nations, shall reveal, and destroy, this great Antichrist, this mair of sin, *in man*, that sitteth in the place of God, yea, exalted above all that is called God, requiring conformity to all his inventions and injunctions, upon pain of life, liberty, and estate: nor are any suffered to buy or sell in this great city, but such as will "receive his mark."

Wo to you all, in the name of the Lord, that call God your Father, and are not *born* of him; that name
his

his name, and hate to be reformed: that call Jesus *Lord*, and not by the *Holy Ghost*; who take his pure name into your mouths, and depart not from iniquity. I say to you, on God's behalf, as God said to the Jews of old; "Your prayers, your sacrifices, and your solemn assemblies; &c. in an unconverted state, are "abomination to the Lord." No matter for your names, your pretences, your creeds, if you live without *God* in the world; that is, without his holy awe in your hearts, without a divine sense of his presence in your souls, and know not that godly sorrow, that worketh unfeigned repentance, the only way to eternal life. Your worship God loatheth: a dog's neck, swine's blood, yea, to bless an idol, or kill a man, is altogether as acceptable with the Lord. O! God is wroth with the feigned worships, as well as common ungodliness, of the world: come to Christ's Spirit, be led of it; and do not your own wills, but the will of Christ Jesus; and then you shall know the true worship. For the true ministry and worship of God, stand not in the will, wisdom, or appointment of men; nor can they be performed by unregenerated men, but in the leadings of his eternal Spirit, by whom all the faithful offer up themselves an acceptable sacrifice to God, not to live unto themselves, but to him that hath purchased them. It is true, Christ Jesus died for the ungodly, but not that they should *continue* ungodly, but take up his daily cross, and follow him. "Christ," saith Peter, "suffered for us, leaving us an "example, that we should follow his steps:" as *he* was in this world, so *we* should be; not conformable to the rudiments, fashions, and customs of this world, that pass away; but transformed and renewed in our minds, by the grace that he hath given us: which grace bringeth salvation to all that obey it; teaching such to deny all ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world: because, "without holiness, none shall "ever see the Lord:" that is God's decree.

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Wherefore be you not deceived, O you formal and titular Christians; God "will not be mocked: such " as you sow, such shall you reap at the hand of the " Lord: yea, for every idle word shall you give an " account in the day of judgment." Think not with yourselves, you have Christ to your Saviour, and you are reconciled to God through *Christ*, and that God looketh not upon you as you are in *yourselves*, but as in *Christ*; whilst you walk not after the *Spirit*, but after the *flesh*: "For the wages of sin is death; but " the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ " our Lord?" To whom? Not to them that despise *his light* in their hearts, that grieve his *Spirit*, and, by a worldly conversation, go on to crucify him; and who follow not Jesus in the way of tribulation and regeneration. "God is of purer eyes than to behold " iniquity;" and he looketh upon men and women to be what they really *are*, and not what they *imagine* themselves to be: "Behold he cometh, and his reward " is with him, and he will reward all according to " their works." Sinners, while such, can no more come into *Christ*, than into *God*; for God is in *Christ*, and Christ is in *God*: Christ is holy, harmless, pure, and undefiled, and separate from sinners. And if ever you would have God look upon you to be in Christ, you must come *into* Christ: and you can never come into *Christ*, the new and heavenly man, that is undefiled, and separated from sinners, till you come out of *sin*, and the *author* of it, the *devil*, the old man of sin, and leave your wicked deeds of darkness.

Therefore, be ye separate from every evil way: Christ, the immaculate Lamb of God, came not only to save men from wrath, but from sin, which is the cause of wrath. "Behold the Lamb of God," saith John, "which taketh away the sin of the world:" not their sin that will not *believe* in him, but the sins of those that are *weary* and heavy *laden*, that wait, hunger, thirst, and cry for his salvation; whom God hath given for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth. O you that
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are called by his sacred name, repent, repent! Prepare, prepare to meet the Lord, who is coming, in the way of his judgments, to visit the inhabitants of the earth; and put away the evil of your doings, and turn to him, that he may receive you.

But wo, in the name of the Lord, to all that *rebel* against the light of Christ Jesus, who serve another master, and follow another captain, and obey the prince of the power of the air, who reigneth in the hearts of the children of disobedience. Yea, "Wo unto all, who are covered with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counsel, and not of me," saith the Lord: "who gather sticks, and kindle a fire of their own, and compass themselves about in the sparks which they have kindled; for this shall they have at my hand, They shall lie down in *sorrow*."

Wo, from God, to all the will-worshippers, who worship, but not in the *Spirit* and in the *truth*; their worship is not available. He that worships God aright is turned to the Spirit, and is taught and led by the Spirit. And such as have received the Spirit of Christ are not led by their *own* spirits, nor by the spirit of this world, nor according to the inventions and traditions of men: neither do they conform themselves to the customs and fashions of this world, nor will they bow to the glory of this world, or the god of it. But having seen *him*, whom they have pierced with their vain conversation in times past, they mourn, and are in great bitterness, because they have done despite to his Holy Spirit of grace, that strove so long with them for their redemption. And being called, by his spiritual call in their hearts, to come out of *Babylon*, the great city of will-worship, confusion, and darkness, that is in the earth, do chearfully resign up all, to follow him in the narrow way of self-denial, as his holy disciples did of old. And such have learned, by good experience, that without *Christ* they can do nothing: though in these days scarcely any thing is done *with* him, or *by* him. For he is resisted, in his *spiritual appearance*, in the consciences of those
that

that make only a profession of him with their mouths, and therefore he doth not many mighty works *in* them: yea, he is smitten, spit upon, crowned with thorns, pierced and crucified, of all false Christians, through their rebellion and wickedness.

O wo, from the great and just God, that made heaven and earth, upon all people that work iniquity, and forget God! Wo to you, kings and princes, that have crucified the "Lord of life and glory;" yea, you have crucified him in yourselves, and helped to crucify him in others: he lieth slain at this day in your streets. For you have not ruled for *God*, as you ought to have done, but for *yourselves*, to please your own lusts; and have not sought the glory of the Lord, nor the prosperity of his work in the earth, so much as the greatness of your own names, and to enlarge your worldly dominions; often oppressing the poor, and persecuting conscientious Dissenters; but suffering almost all manner of vice and vanity to go unpunished. How doth the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, reign in your territories? Are not your courts the very schools of vanity, and nurseries of worldly lusts and pleasures, which war against the soul, and lead to eternal destruction? O! you have much to answer for before the great God, at the day of his terrible tribunal, who have power in your hands to chase away wickedness, and to reform the world. It is written, "A king upon his throne of judgment scattereth all evil with his eye:" O that the kings and princes of the world knew this throne of true judgment! that they had this godlike majesty, that they would purge their lands of evil-doers, that they and their people might escape the wrath and vengeance of God, that is ready to be poured forth upon them!

And wo to you, nobles of the earth, that spend your estates in pleasures, and your days in vanity, that, like those of old, "drink wine in bowls, and stretch yourselves upon couches of ivory: that invent musical instruments for your mirth, but remember not the afflictions of Joseph, neither consider of your
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“latter end.” What pride, lust, and excess lie at your doors! What spoil and waste do you make in the world! You live as if you should never die; caring only what you should eat, what you should drink, and what you should put on; how you should trim, perfume, and beautify your poor mortal selves, and at which plays and sports you should divert and spend away that troublesome and melancholy thing called *time*, as you esteem it, instead of “*redeeming the time*,” “because the days are evil,” and preparing for the eternal judgment. Is *this* the way to glory? Did Jesus give you this example? O! he is crucified by these things! This is far from the true nobility, and Christian honour, that cometh from above.

Wo to you, judges of the earth, who pervert judgment for a reward, that oppress the poor, and despise the cause of the needy; who regard the mighty and the rich in judgment, and delay justice for the fear or favour of man. That subject the laws to your wills, and righteous rules to your passions and interest. Repent, and be just; for God, the just God, the great Judge of heaven and earth, shall judge you all according to your works: and dreadful shall that day of his reckoning and tribunal be, to all the workers of iniquity; but especially to *unjust* and *corrupt judges*.

And wo to you, lawyers, that refuse no cause for *money*; but will plead even against law, truth, and justice, for advantage; teaching your tongues to advocate for a lie, and your mouths for gain, to plead the cause of unrighteousness; raising unreasonable wealth unto yourselves, by the folly, ignorance, and contention of the people. O the equivocation, deceit, falsehood, and iniquity, that is in your profession, in which you let your consciences out to hire at every summons, for all sorts of causes: inasmuch, that it is the money, and not the cause, that prevaileth. And the *worst* cause most commonly is most desired, because the client, doubtful of his success, is usually the most *liberal* to you. This also is for judgment.

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And wo to you, merchants and traders, that have not the Lord's fear before your eyes, whose god is *gold* and *gain*; that neither buy nor sell with regard to his just principle in your consciences; that use vain and deceitful words, and that are not come to the just measure, and the righteous balance, but use frauds for advantage: that neither eye the Lord's providence by sea, nor his care by land; but day and night cast about how to raise to yourselves a great name and estate, to exalt your nests, and rank your families among the rich and the noble of the earth! The Lord will also plead with you: repent, and fear before God.

Wo to you, farmers and countrymen, that reward the Lord evil for good, who giveth you increase of all things in their proper seasons, yet you discern not his hand, you regard not his care; you live "*without* God in the world:" yet no life is fuller of the Lord's providence, who preserveth and prospereth your flocks, who increaseth your wine, your corn, and your grass; instead of remembering his goodness with reverence, and in your harvests praising him with fear, you sacrifice to your lusts, and rejoice only in your fulness; making merry at your harvests, without the fear of God, or looking to him, that giveth you to increase. Repent, and fear before the God of the whole earth.

But, above all others, wo to you scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, you priests and pastors, who have taken a charge that God never *gave* you; who run, and he never *sent* you; who say, "Thus saith the Lord," and he never spoke *to* you, or *by* you: that steal the words of the prophets and apostles, and with them make *merchandize* to the people, not knowing the pure *word* of God in your hearts to be as an hammer, a fire, a sword, to destroy sin, and to purge, redeem, and reconcile you to God; but boast in other mens lines, and speak things made ready to your hands: that "*teach for hire*, and *divine for money*;" who seek honour of men, and love the uppermost places at feasts:

who speak peace to the wicked, and sew pillows under their elbows for reward: pleasers of men, more than pleasers of God. Wo to you, in the name of the Lord, that *counterfeit* his commission, and deceive the people, requiring their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which doth not profit: at your doors lieth the blood of souls, in which you have traded. O you physicians of no value, whom have you cured? Where is the seal of your ministry? Is it not an abominable cheat, that you take *money* to cure, yet *cannot* cure; that have *no medicine* to cure; and, at last, maintain, that the disease is *incurable*? You are they, that will neither enter into the kingdom yourselves, nor suffer others. For whenever we have seen your delusions, and deserted your assemblies, presently a "packet of letters" must be sent to "Damascus:" the magistrate must be called upon to be jailer and hangman for the priest. What wars, changes, and persecutions ever befel the world, since you had a being, in which you have not been at head or tail? O your practices shall more and more come to light: and the day hasteneth, that your very name and calling (as *now* held) shall be had in abhorrence by the nations. O you numerous offspring of the great false prophet, that hath been a liar from the beginning; hereby is it known that God hath never *sent* you, that you "have not *profited* the people;" they are God's words by the prophet Jeremy. Weep and howl, for the day of your great calamity hasteneth upon you! your father and mother are come into remembrance before the Lord, the hour of their judgment is at the door. God will fill you the cup of his fury; you shall drink it at his hand.

O! I cannot but cry aloud to you all, of all ranks and qualities, from the highest to the lowest, that walk not after the Spirit, but after the flesh, daily fulfilling the lusts thereof; that you would repent, and be saved. O how hath Christ's religion been profaned; and his holy name blasphemed, by the lewd life of
professed

■ professed Christians! the very heathens are scandalized,
 ■ and the nations round about have you in scorn and
 ■ derision. "Arise, O God, for thy name's sake!" O
 ■ what tremendous oaths and lies! what revenge and
 ■ murders, what drunkenness and gluttony! what pride
 ■ and luxury! what chamberings and wantonness! what
 ■ fornications, rapes, and adulteries! what masks and
 ■ revels! what lustful ornaments, and enchanting attires!
 ■ what proud customs, and vain compliments! what
 ■ sports and pleasures! what plays and romances! what
 ■ intrigues and pastimes! Again, what falseness and
 ■ treachery! what avarice and oppression! what flattery
 ■ and hypocrisy! what malice and slander! what conten-
 ■ tion and law-suits! what wars and bloodshed! what
 ■ plunders; fires, and desolations! And it is not only
 ■ committed by Christians in *general* one against another,
 ■ but by Christians of the *same faith, sect, and church*,
 ■ one against another; praying to the same God to *destroy*
 ■ one another; and singing psalms to God, when they
 ■ have wickedly destroyed one another. O the rapes,
 ■ fires, murders, and rivers of blood, that lie at the
 ■ doors of professed Christians! If this be *godly*, what is
 ■ *devilish*? If this be *christian*, what is *paganish*? What is
 ■ *anti-christian*, but to make God a *party* to their wick-
 ■ edness? O profanation! O blasphemy! what need is
 ■ there of any other demonstration, that Christendom is
 ■ foully apostatized from the doctrine and example of
 ■ Christ Jesus, and his true followers, who saith, "If
 ■ " ye love me, keep my commandments. By this shall
 ■ " all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have
 ■ " love one to another." And John saith, "Whosoever
 ■ " doth not love his brother, is not of God; and who-
 ■ " soever hateth his brother, is a murderer; and ye
 ■ " know, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding
 ■ " in him." And it is not to be supposed that they
 ■ kill one another in love; for murder is not the effect
 ■ of love and brotherly-kindness, but of malice, envy,
 ■ and revenge. O Christendom! how art thou, and thy
 ■ children, degenerated from God, and fallen from the

doctrine of Christ, whose holy name thou professest! Thou art become a city full of uncleanness, committing whoredom under every green tree; following other lovers than Jesus, whose spouse thou professest to be. O thou rebellious city, thou cage of unclean birds, thou and thy children have filled the earth with the stink of your abominations!

O how expert have you been in these impieties! how ingenious to work wickedness, and how fruitful in your inventions to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life! O how hath the heathen nature, as an evil leaven, prevailed, and leavened the great body of Christians at this day; as if the end of Christ's coming into the world had been to furnish us with a new profession, but not to give us a new nature; to learn men to *talk*, and not to *live*; to cry "Hosanna," but in works to crucify him. What did the heathens, that Christians have not done? Yea, the same lusts, vanities, and impieties, that reigned among them, are to be found improved among Christians. So that it is *paganism* made free of the *Christian* profession, or *heathenism* christianed: and *not to conform* to the *heathen* in the Christian, is not to be a *Christian*, but an *heathen*. O the ignorance, as well as wickedness, of the present Christian world! Verily, the *Christian* life is oppressed under this mass of darkness and impiety, found in the conversation of apostate *Christians*, even as *Christ* was grieved and burdened with the darkness and obstinacy of the apostate *Jews*. And as the hard-heartedness of the *false Jews* crucified him *outwardly*, so hath the hard-heartedness of the *false Christians* crucified him *inwardly*: which hath fulfilled what is recorded in the Apocalypse, viz. "That the Lord was crucified in Sodom" and Egypt, spiritually so called:" for the *false Christians* are the spiritual Sodom and Egypt, who love and live in Sodom's sins, and Egypt's lusts and pleasures. Yea, they are of the race of them that stoned the prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory; of the same

same nature and spirit. O the blood of Jesus lieth at their doors, shed, spilt, and trod under foot of them, and will one day cry for eternal vengeance against them, if they repent not with unfeigned sorrow, and turn to the Lord with their whole hearts: certainly, wo, anguish, and tribulation, shall be their portion for ever! *THAT* which *they* have grieved, shall grieve *them*; and *THAT* which *they* have bruised and resisted, shall reject and torment *them*; yea, it shall be a never-dying worm, and an endless pain, to them. O wo to the worker of iniquity in that day! wo to the slothful servant! wo to the mocker and scoffer! wo to the drunkard and unclean person! wo to them that spend their days in vanity, and their life in earthly pleasures! wo to the proud pharisee, and disdainful scribe! wo to the fearful and unbelieving! wo to idolaters and liars! yea, and wo from God to all the cruel persecutors of the innocent lambs and sheep of Jesus, for their pure conscience to him! for they shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the "second death."

O that you might escape this great damnation! and I testify to you, in the word of the Lord, that God giveth unto you all a day of visitation, in which you may escape the wrath to come. For this end, God hath sent his Son a light into your hearts; it is *he* which manifesteth all your thoughts, words, and deeds unto you; it is *he*, which checks and reproveth you; yea, it is *he*, which expostulateth and striveth with you; it is *he*, that knocketh at your doors, and awakeneth you to judgment; who condemneth every unfruitful thought, word, and work in you. Repent, I exhort you; turn to him, hear his voice, and harden not your hearts; but while it is *to-day*, and the light *shineth*, and the spirit *striveth*, O humble yourselves; bear his judgments, love his reproofs. And though his word be as a fire in your hearts, and though you are even *scorched* within you, because of the heat thereof, yet hear the indignation of the Lord, in that you

have sinned against him. Wait, watch, and walk in the light of the Lord Jesus, that in his blood you may feel remission of sins, and sanctification unto life eternal: that you may no more walk after the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof, but in the spirit of holiness; that you may be sealed unto the day of redemption. O the peace, the joy, the pleasure, and the undecidable comfort, that is daily met with in the holy and righteous way of the Lord!

O this riseth powerfully in my soul, ‘That *his* form hath no comeliness in it, that will please flesh; *his* way and worship is most remote from it. Flesh and blood have no share in *his* worship; the will and runnings of man have no part in *his* way.’ It is neither at the mountain, where one sort runneth; nor at Jerusalem, whither another sort goeth; but in spirit, within the vail, hid from flesh and blood; yea, there it is that his worship is known and performed. Any form is more pleasant than this: *his* visage is more marred than any man’s. All *will-worship*, all *human invention*, findeth acceptance, where *he* cannot find a place to lay his head on. O this is a bitter cup to the creature; few will drink it! they are hard to be persuaded to *sit still*, and patiently to *wait* for the salvation of God, to let *him* work all their works in them and for them. They know not what it is, to have the “mouth in the dust, to have all flesh *silent* before the Lord, that the voice of God may be heard; that he may prepare them, and that the will of God may be brought forth in them.” O this mystery of iniquity, how hath it wrought, and how doth it yet work! It claimeth a right to the living child; but she hath no right to it; she is the womb of death, and can bring forth no living fruit to God. All nations have drank her cup. But the hour of her judgment is come. She is seen, disveiled, and condemned by the living Spirit of God, that is felt, and received, and obeyed by a remnant, who are gathered from the mouths of idle shepherds, and all the errings and
stray-

strayings of false prophets, that have no vision; and are come to the Lord, to know his law in their hearts, and fear and spirit to be in their inward parts, and are taught and led by him. And these follow the Lamb, and are his host this day, that fight under his banner, with his holy testimony, against the whore, false prophet, and beast. And behold they shall prevail: for greater is he that is in them, than he that is in the world.

O this is a great mystery, but a greater truth: *Moses*, the servant, is, externally, more comely than *HE*: yea, the prophets were as pleasant singers, and as delightful instruments of musick; their visions, sights, and glorious prophecies of the last days, and new-covenant times, were (says one of them of old) as a pleasant song: but the SON, the substance, when he came, had no beauty, no excellency, no comeliness. What is the matter? The way is narrow for flesh and blood; there is a cross must be taken up, a bitter cup drank, and a baptism, yea, of blood, gone through. Man must die to his own will, affections, imaginations, and carnal conceptions; he must wait and watch, yea, continually: his own religion and righteousness is as odious as his sin and iniquity, yea, in a sense, more dangerous. It is no outside will do; not that which pleaseth the busy, active will and mind of the creature, that gratifieth the external senses, that have prevailed against the soul: O no; it is an hidden life, an hidden temple, an hidden worship, and that in God's time; yea, an hidden manna, an hidden supper, not discernible by the vain sects of this world. Of this tabernacle is *JESUS* builder; of this covenant and worship is he author; of this altar is he priest: to this did he gather his of old, and to this is he gathering the nations. "And the bride saith, Come; and the Spirit saith, Come; and he saith, Come:" and blessed are they that come, and see how good he is.

But such who, like Sodom of old, go on to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, to rebel against his light, and

vex God's just *Lot*, that liveth in the midst of them, persisting in their lusts and abominations, God's angel shall smite them with blindness: the day of their visitation shall pass away, and the forbearance of God shall be at an end, and fire from heaven shall devour them. Which with my soul I fervently and tenderly desire you may all escape, whom God hath taught to hate your sin, deny your glory, and separate from all your false worships, by his own light, spirit, and truth, and to follow his dear Son in the way of regeneration; whose love to me hath taught me to love all mankind, and to seek their salvation.

WILLIAM PENN.

Amsterdam, the 20th of
the 8th month, 1677.

T E N D E R

T E N D E R
COUNSEL and ADVICE,
BY WAY OF
E P I S T L E,

To all those who are sensible of their DAY of VISITATION, and who have received the CALL of the LORD, by the Light and Spirit of his SON in their Hearts, to partake of the great Salvation, wherever scattered throughout the World.

FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY, which overcome the World, be multiplied amongst you.

Published in the Year 1677.

MY DEARLY-BELOVED FRIENDS,

WHO are sensible of the day of your visitation, by the light of the Lord Jesus in your hearts, and who have gladly received the holy testimony thereof, by which you have beheld the great apostacy, that is in the world, from the life, power, and Spirit of God, and the gross degeneracy that is amongst those called Christians, from the purity, self-denial, and holy example of Christ Jesus, and his primitive followers; and how pride, lust, and vanity reign, and how Christendom is become a cage of unclean birds:
who

who have mourned under the sense thereof, and have cried in your souls, "How long, how long, how long, " O Lord God holy and true, will it be, ere thou " takest to thyself thy great power, and reignest!" To whom the world is become a burden, and the vanities and glories of it but "vexation of spirit:" who despise the things that are seen, which are temporal, for the sake of the things that are not seen, which are eternal: whose eyes look through and beyond time and mortality, to that eternal city, whose builder and maker is God: whose daily cries and travails are to follow Jesus in the way of regeneration; to live as pilgrims in this world, for the sake of that glory which shall hereafter be revealed, that can never fade away, that you may attain unto the eternal rest of God: to you, my dear friends, to you it is, that the God and Father of him that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore, "Christ Jesus, the faithful " and true witness," who hath loved and visited my soul, hath now moved upon my spirit to write, and visit you with this epistle. Receive it then, and with it the endeared salutation of that love and life which are not of this world, but overcome the world. Great and frequent are my travails for you, that you may persevere, and not faint, but endure to the end; that you may obtain that glorious salvation and redemption that is in Christ Jesus. Yea, for this are my knees bended before the God of the spirits of all flesh, that you may be entirely kept; "that you may so run, as " you may obtain; and so fight, as you may overcome;" that an immortal crown and kingdom may be your portion, when all sins and sorrows shall be done away.

And that this you may do, hear my exhortation to you in the spirit of truth. Dwell in the *sense* that God hath begotten in your hearts by the *light* and *spirit* of his *Son*, who is now *in you*, reconciling you unto himself. Watch, that this blessed sense be preserved in you, and it will preserve you. For where the holy sense is lost, profession, even of the highest truths, cannot

cannot preserve against the enemy's assaults; but the gates of hell will prevail against them, and the enemy's darts will wound them, and they will be carried again captive by the power of his temptations. Wherefore, I say again, live and abide in that light and life which hath visited you, and begotten an holy sense in your hearts, and which hath made sin exceeding sinful to you, and you weary and heavy-laden under the burden of it; and hath raised in you a spiritual travail, hunger and thirst after your Saviour, that he might deliver you; that ye might be filled with the righteousness of his kingdom, that is without end.

Dear friends, God hath breathed the breath of *life* in you, and in measure you live; for *dead* men and women do not hear, or hunger, or thirst; neither do they feel weights and burdens, as you do. The day of the Lord is dawned upon you, and it burneth as an oven; you know it; and all workers of iniquity are as stubble before it: you feel it so, they cannot stand before the Lord: his judgments take hold of them, and consume them. O love his judgments! that with those of old you may say, "In the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With our souls have we desired thee in the night, yea, with our spirits within us will we seek thee early: for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." Part, part with all, my dear friends, that is for judgment; let *him* arise in your hearts, that *his* and *your* enemies may be scattered; that you may witness him to be stronger in you, than he that is in the world. If the desire of your soul be to his name, and the remembrance of him, you will love his judgments, and abide there the days he alloweth for your purification. Behold his blessed visitation is upon you: his angel hath saluted you, and his Holy Spirit hath overshadowed you: he hath begotten holy desires in you; I pray that they may never be extinguished, and that you may never faint.

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Wherefore look to Jesus, that is the Author, that he may be the Finisher. I testify for God, he has *appeared* to you; yea, he hath said to you, as to Andrew, Philip, &c. "Follow me:" and I say unto you, Follow him: come and see where he dwelleth; do not lose sight of him; let him be lifted up in you, and your eye be to him: who, wherever he is *lifted up*, draweth all such after him. And this is the reason why people are not now drawn after Christ, because he is not lifted up in their hearts, he is not exalted in their souls: he is rejected, oppressed, crucified, and buried; yea, they have rolled a stone upon him, and set guards, that he should not rise in them to judge them.

But blessed are you, whose eyes have seen one of the days of the Son of Man: blessed are you, at whose doors he hath knocked, to whose hearts he hath appeared, who have received his holy visitation, who believe it is *he*, and not another; and therefore have said in your hearts, with Nathaniel of old, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel;" and with Thomas, "My Lord, and my God." O what have you, my dear friends, to do, but to keep with him for ever! for whither should you go, the words of eternal life dwell with him? He is full of grace, and full of truth, and of his fulness ye have received grace for grace. And this is that grace which bringeth salvation to all that receive it, embrace it, and will be led by it. For it teacheth such, as it did the ancient Christians, "to deny all ungodliness, and the world's lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present evil world; looking for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and their Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath given himself for them to deliver them from all sin, and to redeem them from all iniquity." You know that you are bought with a price; now you feel it, and in measure discern the preciousness of that price which hath bought you, namely, "the life of the dear Son of God." Grieve not his Spirit, that is ready to seal you to the day of
your

your perfect redemption: but give up your bodies, souls, and spirits to his service, whose they are, that they may be ordered by him to his glory.

I write not to you as to the world; for you are called out of the world, by him that hath overcome the world; that as *he* is not of this world, so *you* may not be of this world. Come then out of it more and more, out of the nature, out of the spirit, out of the fruits, and out of the fashions of the world! they are all for the fire. Christ said, "The world loveth its own." Search, with the light of the Lord Jesus, what there is in you that the world owneth and loveth; for that is its *own*. And consider what it is, that the world is offended with: not that which cometh from *itself*, of its own making and inventing, but that which *crosseth* its invention; that is of another nature, and springeth from another root. O be not conformed to the fashions of this world, that please the lust, which grieveth the Spirit of God; but be ye renewed in your minds; and being so *within*, you will be as a new people *without*.

They that have been truly with Christ, are quickly discovered; they cannot be hid. So it was of old; the Jews said of the disciples, "These men have been with Jesus:" their speech and carriage bewrayed them; their outsidcs were not like the outsidcs of other men; they were not current with the fashions and customs of that time: nor can they that have been with Jesus, conform to the vain fashions and customs of this world. Wherefore be not you, in any sort, of this world, but give diligence to make your holy high calling and election sure: for many are called, and few are chosen; and the reason is, they are "slothful servants, they hide their talent in a napkin, neglect the day of their visitation, and work not out their salvation with fear and trembling:" and then the night overtaketh them, in which they can never work the works of repentance; and the things that belong to their peace are hid from their eyes for ever.

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But the Lord forbid that it should be so with any of *you*! No, no; I hope, yea, I believe, better things of you. And I am assured, that as you keep your hearts chafely to the light and grace, that with which you have been visited of the Lord, you shall be kept to eternal salvation. For they are saved, that walk in the light: into the *light* the enemy cannot come; for the light is Christ Jesus, and the enemy hath no part or place in him; he is driven out from the holy place by transgression; and he is now a *fugitive* from heaven; but he goeth up and down the *earth*, seeking whom he may devour, whom he can *catch* and carry away with his baits and snares.

Wherefore, "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth;" that is, the *earthly* inhabitants, such as love and live in the *earthly nature*; for all such shall be a prey to him, he shall have power over them, and keep up his kingdom in them. But those that receive and abide in Christ Jesus, the *light*, *life*, and *truth*, are out of his reach; they are in the "munition of rocks," under the "pavilion of the Lord," in the safe *ark* of the Most High God. However, he is permitted to tempt and try, till the time shall come that he is not only trodden under foot, but also bound and cast into the lake, "that burneth with fire and brimstone." And he is the *greatest* enemy to those that turn their backs upon him; wherefore he watcheth to surprize them, that he might take them at unawares, and triumph over their failings: and for that reason Christ Jesus preached the "*watch*" earnestly, and with repetition, to his disciples.

Now, my dear friends, there be several things (or, the *enemy* in several appearances) will attend you in this holy march you are making to the eternal land of rest; of which I would caution you, that you may none of you make shipwreck of any of those holy beginnings you have experienced by the light and spirit of the Lord. Beware of *vain thoughts*, for they oppress and extinguish the true sense. These *vain thoughts* arise from the enemy's presentation of objects

jects to the mind, and the mind's looking upon them, till they have made their *impressions* upon the mind, and influenced the mind into a love of them. This is a false liberty, a dangerous, yea, a destructive liberty, to the holy *sense* that God hath begotten in any. For as this is not received, but hindered, by such thoughts, so it is not improved, but destroyed by them. The divine *sense* in the soul is begotten by the Lord: it is his life and spirit, his holy breath and power, that quickeneth the soul, and maketh it sensible of its own state, and of God's will; and that raiseth fervent desires in it to be eternally blessed. This is that which Satan rageth at; he feareth his kingdom; he findeth that He is come that will cast him out of his possessions. He crieth out, "Why art thou come to torment me before my time?" *He* is the father of vain thoughts; he begetteth them in the mind, on purpose to draw off the mind from that sense, and to exercise it in variety of conceptions, in a self-liberty of thinking and imagining concerning persons and things. Here he offereth his baits, and layeth his snares; and never faileth to catch and defile the unwatchful soul.

Now, if you should say, "What are these vain thoughts?" I tell you, my friends, All those thoughts and conceptions that either bring not real profit to the soul, or that grieve, hurt, or oppress that holy sense, which is begotten of God in the soul. And that by which thoughts are to be examined, is the light of CHRIST JESUS: for as "That which may be known of God is manifest in men, for God hath shewn it unto them," as saith the apostle Paul to the Romans; so "all things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the *light*; for whatsoever maketh manifest, *is* light," saith he to the Ephesians. By this light of Christ Jesus examine your own thoughts; see whence they rise, from whence they come, and what they tend to. O friends, here is a mystery; and the evil-one worketh here in a mystery! For where he cannot prevail to draw out the mind from its sensible habita-

habitation to embrace his representations of old lusts and pleasures, that are wicked in themselves, he will present you with *lawful* objects, your outward enjoyments, business, and calling, and steal in upon your minds in the croud of these lawful things, and there lay his snares, hid and covered, and at unawares catch you.

My dear friends, blessed are they that see Jesus their captain, going before them, and counselling and leading them, in all outward and lawful concerns, that they offend not. For, my friends, this know, you may *unlawfully* think of lawful things; either in thinking on them *unseasonably*, (mark that) when your souls should be wholly retired, and exercised in the Lord's light to feel his presence, in which is heavenly life; or in thinking on lawful things *carelessly*, not with regard to your Guide; he that hath bought you throughout with his own precious blood, that he might have the government of your bodies, souls, and spirits; that is, of your bodily concerns, as well as of the things relating to your souls and spirits. This prevents much harm and mischief in business and families, and preserveth the divine sense that God hath begotten, and the creature in it; so that its fellowship and peace with the Lord runneth as a river, it is not stopt or hindered by the designs of the enemy: or, lastly, in thinking on lawful things *excessively*, too much, more than is needful, without limits, thereby gratifying the fleshly mind, which is enmity with God, and that sense which he begetteth in the soul. O the mountains that are raised, by such vain thoughts, betwixt God and the soul! how doth the soul come under an eclipse, lose sight, and at last all sense, of the living God, like men drowned in great waters! And thus many have lost their condition, and grown insensible; and then questioned all former experiences, if they were not mere imaginations; till at last they arrived at *atheism*, denying and deriding God and his work, and those that kept their integrity: for whom is reserved

reserved the blackness of darkness for ever, unless they timely and truly repent.

But when this subtle enemy of man's salvation seeth that he cannot make you bow to the glory of this world, that all his snares that he layeth in the things that are seen, which are temporal, are discovered and broken; and that your eyes are directed to those things that are eternal, then will he turn *accuser*: he will *aggravate* your sins, and plead the impossibility of their remission: he will seem to act the *advocate* for the justice of God, that he might cast you into despondency, that you may doubt of deliverance and salvation. Many are the thoughts with which he perplexeth the sons and daughters of men: but this know, that he was a liar from the beginning; for the Lord doth not visit the souls of any to *destroy* them, but to *save* them. For this end hath he sent his Son a light into the world; and they that bring their deeds to it, are not of the devil, who hateth the light. Neither doth the Lord cause his people to *bunger* and *thirst* after him, and not fill them with his *good things*.

Be assured, my friends, wherever the Lord hath begotten desires after him, and wherever sin is become exceeding sinful, yea, a burden to the soul, the devil's kingdom is *shaken*, the prince of this world is begun to be *judged*, and God is at work for the redemption of that soul. Hearken not to the voice of the *serpent*, for that lost your first parents their blessed paradise; and with the same subtle and lying spirit he would hinder you from returning into paradise. But when he is herein disappointed, he shifteth his temptation, and presenteth another temptation, *viz.* 'That though you have begun well, yet ye will never be able to hold out to the end: that the temptations are so many, and the enemies so strong, they are not to be overcome by you; and that it were better never to profess such high things, than to fall short of them; this will but bring reproach to the way, and the people of it.' Again, 'That it is curiosity, and spiritual pride, and conceitedness, for

‘ you to be thought better than others ;’ with the like suggestions, on purpose to stagger your resolutions, and weaken your faith. Ah ! he is a devil still, a liar, and a destroyer : look not to him, but keep to Jesus, who hath called you. Keep but your eye to him, of whom the *brazen serpent* in the wilderness was a figure, and he shall cure you of all diseases, of all wounds and stings of serpents and scorpions, &c. that may attend you in the wilderness-travel, which is the hour of your temptation. God is exalting him, in you, a *Saviour* ; there is he manifested ; viz. “ to destroy sin.” Yea, “ stronger is he that is in you, than he that is in the world :” he is able to bind the strong man, and cast him out ; do but believe truly in him, and cleave to him. Remember there were *evil spies* of old, those that brought *false intelligence*, that Canaan was a pleasant land, but the way *impassable* ; but the faithful entered and inherited. Keep therefore in the righteous life of Jesus, and walk in his holy light, and you shall be preserved, through all exercises and difficulties, unto the eternal Canaan, the land of rest. Neither wonder at these things, that temptations attend you, or that the Lord trieth and proveth you ; it is the way of all that are gone to God ; for even Jesus was tempted and tried, and is therefore become our captain, “ because he overcame.” Neither be ye cast down, because the Lord sometimes seemeth to hide his face from you, that you feel not always that joy and refreshment that you sometimes enjoy. I know what work the enemy maketh of these *withdrawings* of the Lord. Perhaps he will insinuate, ‘ That God hath deserted you in his displeasure ; that you must never expect to see him ; that he will never come again :’ and by these, and the like stratagems, he will endeavour to shake your faith and hope, and distract you with fear, and to beget great jealousies and doubts in you ; and by impatience and infidelity, frustrate your good beginnings. But though David said of old, in the distress of his soul, “ One day shall I fall by the hand of
“ Saul,”

“Saul,” yet he overcame him, and had the crown. Yea, the Lord Jesus himself cried out in the agony of the cross, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!” Nevertheless he gloriously triumphed over all, and led captivity captive, for the joy that was set before him: which joy is before you; it is the mark of the price of your great and holy calling. Wherefore faint not, neither murmur, if your spiritual Moses seems to withdraw a while from you. Do not you make *images* in his absence, neither wax wanton; but possess your souls in holy fear and patience, waiting with holy reverence and diligence for his appearance, who is your victorious leader.

All these things are for your good, that proud flesh may be debased, and that the soul may be redeemed. Wherefore bear the hand of the Lord; whom he loveth, he chasteneth; his *anger* lasteth not for ever, but his mercies endure for ever. Shrink not from the pure operations of his holy word; let it divide asunder between the soul and spirit, the joints and marrow in you; suffer your right hands to be cut off, and your right eyes to be plucked out, that do offend; let not the pain scare you. O bear the pure searchings of this heavenly word! yea, if your minds be stayed in it, you will find it to be a word of patience, which will keep you; for all virtue is in it. Keep in it, and be still. ‘It is good,’ said one of old, ‘that a man should both hope, and quietly wait, for the salvation of God. Yea, it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth, (this is *your* youth) and such an one sitteth alone, and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him.’ Ah! blessed are they that bear this holy yoke, who are come to this silence, who die daily; that not *they*, but *Christ*, may live and rule in them; therefore hear him, and take up his cross, and follow him. Follow him, keep him company; he hath beaten the path, and trod the way; start not aside at his cup, neither shun his baptism: go with him to Caiaphas, to Pilate, and to the cross; die with him to the world, and you shall rise

with him unto life eternal. Honour, glory, and immortality are at the end of this holy race! O that you may run it with chearfulness and perseverance!

But this is not the utmost stratagem of the enemy; he hath yet a more plausible, and a more dangerous device, wherewith to destroy the holy sense that God hath quickened, where he seeth these temptations resisted, and that he cannot hinder a religious work in the soul, by any of his baits taken from the things that are seen; and that is, his drawing you into *imaginations* of God, and Christ, and religion; and into religious duties, not in God's way or time; nor with Christ's Spirit. Here he is transformed into the appearance of an angel of light, and would seem *religious* now, a *saint*, yea, a *leader* into religion, so that he may but keep *him* out of his office, whose right it is to teach, prepare, enable, and lead his children with his holy power and spirit. Yea, if he can but keep the creature's *will* alive, he knoweth there is a ground for him to work upon; a place that he can enter, and in which his seed will grow. If this *will* of man be standing, he knoweth that the will of God cannot be done on earth, as it is done in heaven. O this will is God's enemy, yea, the soul's enemy; and all *will-worship* ariseth hence: yea, it is the offspring of the serpent, and of the will of man; and it can never please God. Let all beware of this; God is a *Spirit*, and he will be worshipped in his *own* spirit, in his *own* life. The worship of God standeth in the *will* of God; and is not brought forth of the will of the *flesh*, or of the will of *man*. Remember that the word came not to *Esau*, the *first-birth*, the *bunter*, that stayed not at home; but to *Jacob*, the *plain* man, he that dwelt in *tents*: to *him* came the word of the Lord, that dwelt in a *still* and *quiet* habitation. For in the *true silence* is God's word heard, into which the hunting nature of *Esau*, the *first-birth*, can never come. It can never *stand still*, and therefore it can never see the *salvation* of God. Against this nature watch; and know *Jacob*, that inherits the birth-right; the *election* of God (though

(though now a worm) to wrestle and prevail. The worm *Jacob*, is *Israel* a prince, to whom belong the statutes and the ordinances. "The word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel:" here is dominion, government, exaltation: this is the lot of worm Jacob. Wait, therefore, 'till the ANGEL move upon the 'waters,' before you step one step. Are ye followers of the Lamb, that hath visited you, the captain of your salvation? Run not in your own wills; wait for his word of command, do nothing of your own heads and contrivings, yet do all with diligence that he requireth. Remember what became of them of old, that offered *false fire*; O stay till a coal from his holy altar touch your hearts and your lips! Jesus told his mother at the marriage in Cana in Galilee, "His hour was not yet come:" he rejected the *will* in her, and staid, till *his* time was come; that is, his *Father's* time, "in whose hands are the times and seasons;" whose will he came to do, and not his own; leaving us therein a blessed example, that we should also follow his steps; that is, not to attempt to perform even things of *God* in our *own* wills, nor out of *God's* season and time, which is the best: for in his seasons he is *with* us; but in our *own* seasons and wills he *withdraweth* himself from us. And this is the cause that the nation's worshippers have little sense of God in their hearts, and that their priests cry out against inward sense; lest the people should go *alone*, and come to a more acceptable worship.

My dear friends, as you would enjoy God's presence, love, and life, and be acceptable with him, wait in his holy light and spirit, that hath visited you, against these stratagems of Satan, and wake not your beloved before his time: watch against the *will*, that instrument of Satan, and enemy of God's glory, and your own comfort. Let it be bridled, subjected, and kept under Christ's yoke, yea, subdued, that the will of God may be done in you and by you, which bringeth glory to the Lord, and eternal peace to the soul. One sigh, rightly begotten, outweigheth a whole vo-

lume of *self-made* prayers : for that which is born of flesh, is *flesh*, and reacheth not to God's kingdom, he regardeth it not ; and all that is not born of the Spirit is *flesh*. But a *sigh*, or a *groan*, arising from a living *sense* of God's work in the heart, it pierceth the clouds, it entereth the heavens ; yea, the living God heareth it, his regard is to it, and his Spirit helpeth the infirmity. He loveth that which is of himself, and hath care over it, though as poor as worm Jacob. " For the cries of the poor, and the sighings of the " needy will I arise," saith the Lord : the poor in *spirit*, that have parted with *all*, that they may win Christ ; that need *him* only, and seek him above all ; who have no helper in the earth, but have denied all earthly helps, that he might bring and work their salvation for them. And as you are not to run in your own wills, nor to offer up sacrifices of your own preparing, so have a care how you touch with those that do ; how you bow to their wills, and join with their sacrifices. For all these things greatly help to extinguish the divine sense begotten in your hearts by the word of life. And as you are faithful to the light and spirit of Christ, which giveth you to discern and relish between that which standeth in your *own* will, and the will and motion of the Spirit of *God* in yourselves ; so will you, by the same light, discern and favour between that which proceeds from the will of man, and the will and motions of the Spirit of God in others ; and accordingly either to have, or not to have, fellowship with them : for what hath *light* to do with *darkness* ? Or what hath *spirit* to do with *flesh* ? Or what hath *life* to do with *death* ? " For the grave " cannot praise thee, O Lord ; death cannot celebrate " thee : they that go down into the pit cannot hope " for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall " praise thee, as doth my soul this day." This was the testimony of the blessed prophet Isaiah, and it standeth true for ever : according to the prophet, " Thou hast ordained peace for us, for thou hast " wrought all our works in us."

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Wherefore I exhort you, in the spirit of truth, and in the counsel of the GOD of Truth, keep in the divine sense and watch, if you would endure to the end in the will of God. And I say again, Touch not with man-made ministers, nor man-made worships, let their words be never so true: it is but *man*, it is but *flesh*, it is but the *will*; and it shall have no acceptance with God: O this is the golden cup of the whore that is gone from the leadings of the Spirit, with which the nations are defiled: have nothing to do with it. Keep to Christ Jesus, God's great light; follow him, as he shineth in your hearts, and ye will not walk in darkness, but have the light of life: not of death to condemnation, as in the world; but unto life, which is justification and peace. And remember that nothing bringeth *to* Christ, that cometh not *from* Christ. Wherefore all ministry that cometh not *from* Christ, God's great Prophet and High Priest to all true-born Christians, cannot bring people *to* Christ. Man only gathereth *to* man, to hear and believe *in* man, and depend *on* man: and if the church of *Corinth* sought a proof of Christ's speaking in Paul, that had begotten them, and had wrought the signs and works of an apostle in them; how much more reason have you to demand a proof of *Christ's* speaking in the priests and ministers of this world, who have not wrought the signs and works of the apostles or true ministers? And by what should you try them, but by the *light* and *spirit* of CHRIST in you? Yea, it is Christ Jesus in you, that giveth you to savour if others speak from Christ in them. And this the apostle referreth the Corinthians to, for a proof of Christ's speaking in him: for nothing leadeth *to* God, but that which came *from* God, even Christ Jesus the *Son* of God. O let him be your vine, and know him to be your fig-tree: sit under his holy teachings, whose doctrine shall drop as myrrh upon your souls: he will feed you with the bread of God, that cometh from heaven, that feedeth and leadeth them thither that feed upon it: and ~~he~~ is that bread.

Therefore wait and watch unto his daily and hourly visitations to your souls, and against all the approaches of the enemy, that so he may not take you at unawares; but that you may be preserved from the power of his darts, and the force of his temptations, by the holy armour of light, the defence of the faithful ancients: "If you be willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land." Now is your *day*, now is your *time*; work while the light is *with* you; for the night cometh, in which *none* can work. Not only the night of eternal darkness to the wicked; but the night of death unto all: for in the grave there is no repentance, neither can any man there work the works of God. You know the foundation: is he *elect*? Is he *precious* to you? Have ye *chosen* him? Yea, I am satisfied you have: see what you build upon him. Have a care of *hay*, *straw*, and *stubble*! Have a care of your own *wills* and *spirits*! Labour not for the bread that *perisheth*, as all the bread of *man's* making doth: but labour you, in the light and strength of the Lord, for the bread that *never* perisheth, that bread that cometh from heaven, that nourisheth the soul in that life that is heavenly, that is "hid with Christ in God," the Root and Father of life; that of this fountain you may drink, that is clear and pure, that cometh from the throne of God, and of the Lamb, and not of the muddy puddle of *man's invention*. There is a bread that perisheth, and there is a drink that perisheth; and wo to them that feed thereon, for their souls shall perish also, if they repent not. But there is a bread that *never* perisheth; and there is a fountain that springeth up unto eternal life, and blessed are they that feed and drink thereof, for they shall have eternal life with God. This is that which only satisfieth what is born of *God*; it will feed on no other bread, nor drink of no other water. I cannot but warn you all, that are come to the *Lord's day*, that you cease from all other food, from man and man's will and invention; for that stifleth the divine sense; that overlayeth and killeth this heavenly birth. There
are

are no grapes to be gathered of thorns, nor figs of thistles: keep to your own vine and fig-tree, Christ Jesus; sit under him, that you may eat of his fruit, which is the fruit of life, "the hidden manna;" hid from the nature and spirit of this world, a mystery thereunto. Two things consider: First, you must wait till the manna cometh; and then you are not to be idle; you are to work: and next, as it daily cometh, so it must be daily gathered and fed upon: for the manna that was gathered yesterday, will not be food for to-day; it will not keep for that use. And as it was outwardly, so it is inwardly. Time past is none of thine: it is not what thou wast, but what thou art: God will be daily looked unto. Didst thou eat yesterday? That feedeth thee not to-day: therefore Jesus taught his disciples, and us in them, to pray for our *daily* bread; for the *present* sustenance, and to look *no farther*, but depend upon the *Lord*, and live by faith in him, that raised up Jesus from the dead; so that the time to *come* is no more *ours*, than the time *past* can be recalled.

Wherefore, "Blessed are they that fear the Lord, and confide in him, they shall never be confounded: they shall lack no good thing; for the Lord loveth Israel, he is good unto Israel, and all that are of an upright heart;" whose hearts look up to heaven, and not down to the earth; neither love, nor live in, the vain lusts of the world: such shall "abide in his holy tabernacle, such shall dwell in his holy hill," even they that "walk uprightly, that work righteousness, and speak the truth in their hearts, in whose sight a vile person is contemned, but who honour them that fear the Lord."

O my dear friends, I know experimentally, that this is hard to flesh and blood; that which is born of the corruptible seed; but that can never enter into the kingdom of God: that must be crucified *by* Christ, that hath *crucified* Christ: "blood requireth blood." Wherefore give that which is for the famine, to the *famine*: for the fire, to the *fire*: and for the sword, to the *sword*.

the *sword*. Let all the sinful lusts be famished; let the stubble be burnt, and the corrupt, yea, and the fruitless tree, that cumbereth the ground, be "cut down, and cast into the fire." Let the work of the Lord be done in you; let him purge his floor, and that thoroughly; that you may come out as pure as gold seven times tried, fitted for his use that hath chosen you; that you may bear his mark, and wear his inscription, "Holiness to the Lord;" so you will be vessels of honour in his house. Therefore I say, let your houses be swept by the judgment of the Lord, and the little leaven of the kingdom leaven you in body, soul, and spirit, that holy temples you may be to his glory. This, I know, is your desire, that are on your travel to this blessed enjoyment.

Well, you believe in God; believe also in Christ, the light that hath visited you: and if you truly believe, you will not make haste: you will not make haste out of the hour of judgment; you will stay the time of your trial and cleansing, that you may be, as I said, as pure as gold seven times tried; and so receive the Lord's mark and stamp, his image and approbation; that you may be his throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; sealed to him in an eternal covenant.

Dear friends, gird up the loins of your minds, watch and hope to the end; be not slothful, neither strive; despond not, nor be presumptuous: be as *little children*; "for of such is the kingdom of God." Dispute not, neither consult with flesh and blood: let not the prudence of this world draw you from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus. Love and obey the truth; hide his living word in your hearts; though it be as an hammer, a fire, a sword, yet it reconcileth, and bringeth you to God, and will be sweeter to you that love it, than is the honey, and the honey-comb. Fear not, but bear the cross, yea, without the camp; the camp of this world's lusts, glory, and false worship. But this know, when the enemy cannot prevail by any of these stratagems, if you resist him as "the god of this world's glory, the prince of the air,"
" and,

“ and the false prophet;” then he turneth *dragon*; then he declareth open war; then you are hereticks, fanaticks, enthusiasts, seducers, blasphemers, unworthy to live upon the earth. But in all these things “ rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great shall be your reward in the kingdom of the Father.” What if your parents rise up against you; if your brethren betray you; if your companions desert and deride you? If you become the song of the drunkard, and the scorn and merriment of the vile person? Yea, though the powers of the earth should combine to devour you, let not your hearts be troubled. ‘ Shun not the cross, but despise the shame, and cast your care upon the Lord, who will be afflicted with you in all your afflictions: in the fire he will be with you, and in the water he will not forsake you.’ O let your eye be to him, whose name is as a strong tower, the sanctuary of the righteous in all ages; that you may be able to say in your hearts, with David of old, “ The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid? Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his temple. For in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion, he shall set me upon a rock. When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up. I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. WAIT on the Lord, be of good courage; and he shall strengthen thine heart. WAIT, I say, on the Lord.”

O my dear friends, let it be your daily and hourly work to wait upon God. How often does David speak of *waiting upon God*? He felt the sweetness of it: therefore retire into your holy chamber: be still, and the

the Lord will speak comfortably unto you. Blessed are they that wait upon him; whose expectations are only from *him*. "For though the youth shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fail, they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint. I waited," said David, "*patiently* for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry." And this was his testimony, "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine: for the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit:" David *knew* it, therefore he could *spea*k it.

O my dear friends, who are compassed about with many tribulations; the Lord God, your staff and strength, is near you to sustain you. Have ye borne the holy reproach of Jesus, and despised the shame of his cross, and did he ever desert you? Be not cast down, though to the eye of reason there seemeth none to help, no, not one to save: though enemies *within*, and enemies *without*, encamp themselves about you; though Pharoah and his host pursue you, and great difficulties be on each hand of you, and the dismal Red Sea be before you, *stand still*; make no bargains for yourselves; let all flesh be *silent* before the Lord; and "*His arm shall bring you salvation.*" Yea, when you are ready to go down into the pit, that your throat is dry with crying, and your eyes seem to fail with waiting, "his salvation shall spring as the morning; because his mercies are to all generations, and that the seed of Jacob never sought his face in vain. "The poor man crieth," saith David; what poor man was this? He that is poor in his *own eyes*, that hath no helper in the earth but God. "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles." "Our souls," said the
righteous

righteous of old, "waited for the Lord, for he is
"our help, and our shield for ever."

Wherefore, my dear *friends*, be not you discom-
forted, for there is no *new* thing happened unto you:
it is the ancient path of the righteous: "For thy
"fake," says David, "have I borne reproach; I am
"become a stranger to my brethren, and an alien
"unto my mother's children. When I wept, and
"chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my re-
"proach. I made sackcloth also my garment, and I
"became a proverb to them: they that sit in the
"gate, speak against me; and I was the song of the
"drunkards. Save me, O God, for the waters are
"come in unto my soul: and the water-floods are
"ready to swallow me up. They persecute him whom
"thou hast smitten; and they talk to the grief of
"those whom thou hast wounded." Do you not
know this, dear friends? Are not your tears become
a reproach, your fasts a wonder, your paleness a deri-
sion, your plainness a proverb, and your serious and
retired conversation a *by-word*? Yea, when the Lord
hath wounded, have not *they* also grieved? And when
the Lord hath smitten you, have not they *mocked*?
But this was David's joy, "The Lord is my shepherd,
"I shall not want: he restoreth my soul, he leadeth
"me in the path of righteousness, for his name's-
"fake; he maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
"he leadeth me beside the still waters. Yea, though
"I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
"I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod
"and thy staff comfort me:" who was the comforter
and preserver of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego,
that refused to obey the king's command against the
commandment of God: they would not bow to his
image; but rather chose the fiery furnace, than to
commit idolatry, or bow to another thing, than to
the living God. "Did not we cast three men into
"the midst of the fire?" said Nebuchadnezzar: "lo
"I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the
"fire, and they have no hurt: and the form of the
"fourth

“ fourth is like the Son of God.” O my friends, the fire obeyeth him, as well as the winds and seas: all power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for your salvation. Well; Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the king calleth out of the fire, and they have no *harm*; though the mighty men that cast them into the fiery furnace were *consumed*. The God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, is magnified by the king’s decree; and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, are by the king highly preferred. Here is the end of faithfulness; here is the blessing of perseverance: God will bring honour to his name, through the patience and integrity of his people.

And it was this Son of God that preserved Daniel in the lion’s den; it was his voice, that David said, “ divideth the flames of fire; he rideth upon the winds, “ he sitteth upon the floods. The voice of the Lord “ is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty: they that trust in him shall never be “ founded. Blessed are they whose God is the Lord: “ for he is a present help in the needful time of trouble. The angel of the Lord encampeth round “ about them that fear him, and he delivereth them. “ O taste, and see, that the Lord is good: blessed is “ the man that trusteth in him. O fear the Lord, for “ there is no want to them that fear him. The “ young lions shall lack, and the old lions suffer “ hunger; but they that seek the Lord shall not want “ any good thing. Many are the afflictions of the “ righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of “ them all; for the Lord redeemeth the souls of his “ servants, and none of them that trust in him shall “ be made desolate.”

For which cause, my dear friends, “ cast away every “ weight, and every burden, and the sin that doth so “ easily beset you.” Neither look at the enemy’s strength, nor at your own weakness; but look unto Jesus, the blessed Author of your convincement and faith: the Mighty One, on whom God hath laid help, for all those that believe in his name, receive his testimony,

timony, and live in his doctrine; who said to his dear followers of old, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world: fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom: and they that endure to the end shall be saved. I will not leave you comfortless," said he, "I will come to you; he that is with you, shall be in you." This was the hope of their glory, the foundation of their building, which standeth sure. And though sorrow cometh over night, yet joy shall come in the morning. "Ye shall weep and lament," said Jesus, "but the world shall rejoice; and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy, and their rejoicing into howling. And lo I am with you to the end of the world." Be ye therefore encouraged in the holy way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily manifestations unto your souls, that you may be strengthened in your inward man, with might and power, to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven. O *watch*, that ye enter not into temptation: yea, "watch unto prayer, that ye enter not into temptation, and that you fall not by the temptation." Christ said to Peter, "Canst not thou watch *one* hour?" Every one hath an hour of temptation to go through; and *this* is the *hour* that every one is to *watch*. Jesus, the captain of our salvation, was under great temptations; "he was sad unto death; he did sweat drops of blood;" but he *watched*, he *prayed*, he *groaned*, yea, he *cried with strong cries*; but through suffering overcame: and remember how in the wilderness he was tempted, but the angels of the Lord ministered to him. So they that follow him in the way of the tribulations and patience of his kingdom, God's angel shall minister unto them all: yea, he will keep them in the hour of temptation: he will carry their heads above the waves, and deliver them from the devouring floods.

Wherefore, finally, my friends, I say unto you, in the name of the Lord, "Be of good cheer!" Look to JESUS, and fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils;

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nostrils; but be valiant for the truth on earth. " Love
" not your lives unto the death, and you shall receive
" a crown of life and glory;" which the God of the
fathers, the God of the prophets, the God of the
apostles, and the God of the martyrs, and true con-
fessors of Jesus; yea, the God and Father of our LORD
JESUS CHRIST, shall give unto all those that keep the
pure testimony of his Son in their hearts, and patiently
and faithfully endure to the end.

" Now to him that is able to keep you from falling,
" and to present you faultless before the presence
" of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only
" wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty,
" dominion and power, both now and ever.
" Amen."

I am your friend, that sincerely loves you, and
earnestly travails for your redemption.

W. P E N N.

TO ALL THOSE
PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY

THAT ARE

Externally separated from the VISIBLE SECTS
and FELLOWSHIPS in the Christian World, so
called, wherever hidden or scattered :

True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from
GOD the FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST, be
increased.

Published in the Year 1677.

FRIENDS,

THE *first* Adam is of the earth, earthy; the *second* Adam is the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit: what is born of flesh, is *flesh*, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God. So far can the spirit of *mere* man come, and no farther; but what is born of *God*, does inherit life eternal. All you, therefore, who are *exalted* in your speculations, and refined in your apprehensions and ideas of God, of Christ, of the Spirit, and of the secrets of the heavenly kingdom, examine and try, by the light of the Lord Jesus, whether you have received your knowledge from God, or from men; and, when taken in the *best* part, whether it is more than the new wine in the old bottles, which cannot endure, nor stand in judgment. Consider if

it be not the bare or mere *man*, that speaks of godly matters, what he has heard, or read, of others labours, rather than the overshadowings and operations of the holy and eternal Spirit of Christ in yourselves.

Hereby shall you know whether your knowledge of God is true, or not, viz. If you are redeemed by his righteous judgments, working out all the tin and dross that have been in you, and brought to the silence of all *flesh*, that has no right to speak in man, for it *knows not* the things of God.

Friends, I am pressed, by the good Spirit of God, to ask you, Whether the prince of this world is *fully* and *wholly* judged in you? Is he beaten off of *false righteousness*, as of *sin*? For when he cannot prevail with the creature to submit to *him*, then he tempts it to take upon it to govern and guide *itself*, that it should not be taught by *Christ*, and that his own kingdom of darkness should not be thereby overturned at once.

And therefore deceive not yourselves, O my beloved friends! Is the glory of the world wholly set aside in you? Is it at once judged, and under your feet? If the Spirit of Jesus wholly reigns in your hearts, then are you not conformable to any of the evil fruits, inventions, and fashions of this world; but are, inwardly and outwardly, gathered to the Spirit of Jesus, and the dark world trodden under your feet in all its appearances; yea, then you are valiant for the cause of God upon earth; your candles are in their candlesticks, and not under the bed or bushel.

But Oh! Is this so? Take heed; for that life is now risen which you cannot deceive, but it will taste you in all your performances, and judge righteous judgment. I ask a second time, in the fear and name of the holy God, (who is a consuming fire against all that which is counterfeit, and not true) is the prince of this world judged? As a *devil*, as a *dragon*, as a *prince of the air*, a *false prophet*, yea, as one appearing sometimes like an *angel of light* too? For this man of sin, and of perdition, has also his visions, knowledge, faith,

faith, signs, miracles; yea, *quakings* too; yet not like those that are born of God, and are inspired and actuated by his *Holy Spirit*.

But ah! are you come so far, that you feel that all flesh is *silent* before the Lord? For that is the time when *God* should speak, and men should hear what he says. I say, is *Adam* silent in you? Is the spirit of man silent in you? Is ~~thy~~ *thy* soul, O man! *passive* and *quiet*, retired from all *images, ideas, figures, or self-apprehensions*, that thou mayest hear and discern what God, through his Son, will speak unto thee? He who is the blessed Teacher, that taught Adam in paradise, the good Jews under the law by his angels and prophets; and does yet teach all true Christians under the gospel, through his beloved Son, who is the glorious *sun and light* of the world, and *fulnes* of *ALL dispensations* to mankind.

I say once more, in the fear of the Lord, friends, judge, walk up to what you have attained, and reach not beyond your own experience, neither glory in your *own* strength, but in the Lord: do not hold the truth in unrighteousness, like as all those do, who walk not after the Spirit, nor are made sensible, through the work of it; and who make not profession thereof. And therefore hear me once more, I beseech you: are you got beyond your own thoughts? Have you found ease and peace, through Christ, in your own consciences? Do you keep the holy watch against the enemy in all his appearances, whether selfishness or sinfulness, forwardness or backwardness in duty? Have you conquered that part, or *hasty* birth, which ascends like an eagle, and hovers in the air, but pitches no where that is truly profitable to the soul? Is the eye of the *vulture* blinded, that would peep and spy into the path of the righteous, which is kept close from all the birds of prey, but open to the dove? Ah! Is that which delights to comprehend and know more than that which is obtained through daily obedience, is that aspiring serpent seen? I say, is that enemy seen and judged, and that through Christ, the great Pro-

phet of God *in* you, to whom all judgment is committed? If so, you are safe: but if not, then shall your work suffer great damage in the fiery day of the Lord. And besides, I say, have you received your knowledge by the death of the cross? And have you seen yourselves *lost* without Christ, and *risen* with him? Then have you cast away your grave-clothes, and are clothed upon with immortality, with the fine linen and raiment of saints, which is the portion of all the redeemed of the Lord through judgment, and his blessed converts through righteousness, as it was with the holy fathers of old: can you say, in truth and in righteousness, that you are redeemed with the same judgments, and converted through the same righteousness, as they were; and that the same pure and spiritual judgment has been the beginning of your knowledge and experience? If not, then it is all wrong, and you must begin again: for one stone must not stand upon another in that building, which stands in the oldness of the letter, and not in the newness of the spirit: conviction, redemption, and, from an earthly sensual, a supersensual life, are the great business, and must be wrought by *fire*, called the "baptism of fire" and the Holy Ghost." Wherefore deceive not yourselves, God will not be mocked: come to the fire, and try your works. Are they wrought in *God*, by and after *him*, *his* mind, and will; or of self-imitations and imaginations, that cannot profit the poor soul? If after God's mind and will, there is an end of the faiths, worships, lusts, glory, and customs of this world, and the root they spring from is cut down, with all its branches, fruits, and leaves, that have shewn themselves, more or less, under the great apostacy that has spread over the world, and Christendom more especially.

Examine, my friends, and try this holy guide in your hearts, by the word of the Lord, which is dividing asunder between "the soul and spirit, and the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts" and purposes of the heart:" for "the heart is
"despe-

“ desperately wicked ; who can know it ? ” Yea, the secrets and treasures of unrighteousness live in it. Examine therefore thyself over and over, by the light of the Lord, and let his true judgment take place ; that which comes from him, to whom the Father has committed all judgment, as well as all power.

I have a godly jealousy about many of you, whether your knowledge does not exceed your experience, at least, your obedience ; and whether you feed not yourselves with that bread that perishes. Beware, therefore, of that tree whose knowledge Adam purchased with the loss of paradise^a ; for that is the way never to come into the paradisiacal state again. I feel I must say to some of you, “ Come down, Zaccheus, “ come down.”^b You that find yourselves to be of low stature, and therefore mistrust lest the multitude should hinder, or hide the Lord from you, whose all-seeing eye and presence beholds all things ; and therefore resort to the high tree ; that is, to high notions, that you may see, or behold him as he is ; I say to you, “ Come down,” for salvation is not to be found there : no ! no ! for it is nearer to you, it is even come to your own houses : yea, to your hearts ; there stands Christ, your salvation, at your doors, knocking ; let him in, for he comes to take away the sins of the world, and restore poor man to God again. He whom God has set to be a light to the Gentiles, and a leader to the people, and to be his salvation to the ends of the earth :^c therefore I recommend unto you, that you be not offended at the meanness of his appearance ; for his day is a day of *small* things, even as the *smoking flax*, and the *bruised reed*.^d

And this, therefore, ariseth powerfully in my soul, to speak unto you, ‘ That he appears not in the form of beauty, which is pleasing to the flesh ; and that his way and worship is separated from such in the greatest measure.’ Flesh and blood have no part in

^a Gen. ii. 9.

^b Luke xix. 5.

^c Rev. iii. 20. John i. 29.

^d Acts xiii. 47. Zech. iv. 10.

his service, and the forwardness, runnings and willings of men, have no place there: for it is neither upon this mountain, whither one sort runs, nor yet at Jerusalem, nor in the privy-chamber, where another sort are seeking; but in the Spirit of God, the true worship of God is known and performed. Every form is more acceptable than his; no man's face, or visage, being more marred or disfigured than his: all voluntary humilities and worships of men, and every human tradition or invention of men, has a fairer shew, and a more grateful appearance than his, of whom it is said, "He has not a place whereon to lay his head." This is a bitter cup for the creature, and there are but few who will drink it; for it is a hard matter to bring men thereunto, viz. to sit still, and with patience wait for the salvation of God, and deny all self-activities and contrivings, and so let him will and work all their works in and for them. They know not what it is to put their "mouths in the dust, and "all flesh to be silent and abased before the Lord;" that he alone may be exalted, and his voice heard, that he may prepare them to do his will in their earth, as it is done in heaven. Ah! how has this mystery of unrighteousness wrought, and how does it work yet? boasting that the living child belongs to her; but it is feigned, because it is the womb of death, and cannot bring forth any living fruit unto God. All nations have drank too much of this cup; but the hour of this false spirit's judgments is now come, and it is seen, revealed, and judged, through the living Spirit of God, which is felt, received and obeyed, by a poor people, whom God has delivered out of the mouths of the idolatrous and superstitious shepherds, and false prophets, who have no vision themselves, but who write, preach and pray against it, and persecute those that assent to and profess it, as the gospel privilege and dignity; who are come to the Lord, and know his law written in their hearts, and his fear

placed in their inward parts, and that are taught and guided by him. These follow the Lamb, and hear his voice, and are the host of the Lord, in this our day, who fight, through their holy testimony, under his banner, against the mystical harlot, the false prophet, and the beast; and, behold, they shall obtain the victory: for he that is in them, is stronger than he that is in the world, that fights against them.

And though this be a great mystery, so it is, notwithstanding, a greater truth; to wit, that *Moses*, the servant, is externally fairer than CHRIST; yea, the prophets themselves spake as so many delightful singers, and like those that play upon pleasant instruments of musick: for their revelations, visions, and glorious prophecies of the latter days, and of the times of the new covenant, were, as one of them said of the children of that generation, "like a pleasant song." But when the SON, the *Substance*, came, it was without beauty, without ornament, and without any external excellency; which is to say, no formality, no observations in meats and drinks, or holy days, surplices, altars, vestments, offerings, &c. Instead of which, a strait way to flesh and blood, a cross to self-love, and a holy watch, are instituted and recommended by example, as well as precept; which is a bitter cup, or draught, for all to drink that will go to glory: man must die to his own will, inclinations, imaginations, and fleshly conceits: he must constantly wait and watch. Now his *own* worship and righteousness are as odious to him, as his sin and unrighteousness were before: for it is not an external matter, nor an external running, or doing, that can profit: nor is it that which pleaseth the busy brain, and the nice phantasy of the creature; because while all those things have been stroking the mind of the creature, they have been warring against the soul: but it is a secret life; a secret temple; a secret service, and that in God's due time; yea, it is a secret manna, a secret supper, which cannot be understood by the vain sects of this world. And Jesus is the builder of this tabernacle;

bernacle: he is the author of this covenant and service: he is the high priest of this altar. Hereunto he has gathered those his ancient people, and hereunto he gathers the nations in these our days. The *bride* says "Come;" the *Spirit* says "Come;" and *He* says "Come," and blessed are those that *come*, and see how good he is to those that love and fear him: for all crowns must be laid down at his feet, to him that is meek and humble, and rides upon an ass, and upon the foal of an ass, the most contemptible of all beasts; since God has concluded that he should be glorified, and that hosanna and glory belongs to him for ever. He shall humble the proud, and exalt the humble; yea, he shall lay the mountains low, and exalt the vallies; to wit, the poor in spirit, to whom the kingdom of God belongs.

And therefore do not think yourselves rich, like the pharisees; for you must know this, that "a camel shall more easily pass through the eye of a needle, than a rich man shall enter into the kingdom of God." But come to the seed of God, sown in all your hearts, for therein must "all the nations of the earth be blessed;" for whose sake, forsake all visible things, bow down before it, cleave to it with your whole hearts, and learn thereof; for it is incorruptible; that you may thereby be instructed, and born again; that you may be as *little children*, who do not *argue* with their Father, but love, believe, and follow him in all obedience and faithfulness, and to such belongs the kingdom of God. To these God reveals his secrets; wherefore the Lord Jesus Christ has said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things (what sort of things? The hidden things of the kingdom of heaven) from the wise and prudent, and that thou hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight:" for out of "the mouths of babes and sucklings^b hast thou or-

^f 1 Pet. i. 23. ^g Mat. xi. 25, 26. ^h Psal. viii. 2.

"dained

“dained strength,” or, “thou hast perfected praise:” whereas in *God’s* presence no flesh shall boast.

My friends, disquiet not yourselves to comprehend divine things; for they that do so, are of the flesh: but wait in stillness, upon the God of all the families of the earth, and then shall you have a true feeling of him, and of that which feeds the soul, and gives the saving knowledge, *viz.* that knowledge which is everlasting: this knowledge remains, and stands fast; likewise peace, and everlasting assurance, goes along with it.

For this I testify unto you, from the Lord, that the fowls of the air, and the imaginations of flesh and blood, are the greatest enemies of your souls, and of your progress in the way of the Lord. The first hath often *stolen away* the seed, as soon as it was sown; instead of which, it ought to take root, and spring up: and hereby the visitations of the Lord are of no effect, and your souls remain weak and feeble: and the other hath *suppressed* the seed, after it hath sprung up. O the fine imaginations of the wisdom of this world, the fear of man, and earthly prudence! This comes not from the heavenly, saving, and living knowledge; neither can it ever bestow it upon you: but true knowledge makes courageous and diligent before the Lord; and those that are so, are noble in their testimony, patient under afflictions, steadfast and chearful under persecutions. This is the way of the only true God, whose name be glorified to all eternity.

Ye, then, that have a true sight of a better hope, and of a more lasting habitation, who in the singleness of your heart thirst after the true and living feeling and knowledge of God; who are like a poor dove without consort, and as a solitary pelican in the wilderness, who truly seek after the beloved of your souls, but have not yet found him; “Be still, O ye tender people! and know that he is God.” Who? “He that searcheth the heart, that trieth the reins, that setteth the thoughts of men in order before their eyes:” in this stillness shall ye hear him, who
will

will teach you where to find that which you seek for; yea, it is *he*, for he alone can do it, who manifesteth himself to you. Mary sought Jesus, and thought it was the *gardener* when she saw him; she asked Jesus for Jesus; but when he said "*Mary*," she answered "Master;" and through *that word* her beloved Master, Jesus, *revealed* himself, and demonstrated that he knew her, and *that gave* her to know him; for, alas! he whom you seek is *near* you; yea, in the *midst* of you: it is he that knows you, and calls to you, and tells you whatever you have done, whether it be just, or unjust; and it is he that pronounceth judgment against those that walk after the flesh, but speaketh peace and joy to those that walk after the Spirit. And therefore do not slight his appearance, but live humbly, and then you shall see him whom you wait for swiftly come, and make himself known to you.

My beloved, seek not the present ease, or pleasures of the flesh; and fear not man, but God. Hear me, O my friends, for the Lord God hath sent me unto you, in this epistle; take heed that ye out-run not yourselves in inward visions, and openings of the heart, and that you feed not yourselves with the knowledge of the same; for this is *not* that knowledge which is eternal life; although many, and more especially in Germany, have lost themselves thereby: for when they have received inward manifestations from God, they were not humble and low, but were exalted in their own minds above the daily cross; which cross is death to that which prides itself with these visions, or manifestations, and have been elevated above the simplicity of obedience, in a bare profession of the same.

O the subtlety of that cunning enemy of souls! This, this hath put a stop to the work of the Lord; for they have not known the travail, the death, and the first resurrection; but, without experience, lived slightly in the delightful representations and manifestations of the same: hereby are come forth whole generations of exalted, spiritual, and high-strained notionists,

tionists, who despising the gross impiety, and dark superstitious contrivances of sects, are in the mean while entertained by the enemy (who is provided with all manner of suitable baits) with those likenesses and representations of TRUTH: they dream of meat, and the feast of tabernacles; but when the day of the Lord is at hand, which is to awaken them to rise to judgment, behold, then they are empty and hungry!

And therefore take great heed to follow the Lord, and worship him: adore *him*, and not the *image* thou thyself hast made. Do not make calves out of jewels, which thou hast brought out of Egypt. Do not bow down thyself before thy old experiences; but behold the *arm* that has helped thee, and that God who has often delivered thee. Blessed are those who are kept by him in the daily sense of his preservation, for their hearts will not run after other gods. Remember that the manna descended from heaven daily; that it daily must be gathered and eaten; and that the manna that was gathered yesterday, cannot serve to-day for *food*. Now ^{as} it is in the natural, even so is it in the spiritual. And therefore the Lord Jesus has taught his disciples to pray for their *daily* bread; for he is daily with his people, and he goes before them: therefore let nobody look backwards, and adore what they have known; but look forward, on Jesus, the author of the true faith, who is mighty to finish what he has begun; because he has not only brought and delivered his people out of *Egypt*, but he is likewise their spiritual *Moses*, who has led them through the *wilderness*; he goes before his sheep, and gives them everlasting life; namely, to those who hear and follow him: but when men are negligent in hearing Christ, then they work for themselves upon their old experiences, and “hew to themselves cisterns that can hold no water.” Here death prevails, and here death talks of the fame of wisdom; and with this knowledge they feed themselves, and not on the tree of life.

Take

Take ye heed, my friends, for great is the mystery of unrighteousness, but the light of Jesus Christ discovers the same; and therefore remain in this, and from it expect your daily bread, daily knowledge, daily wisdom, and daily strength: "Take no thought for the morrow, for sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

And thus lives the seed of faith, the true spiritual generation of the believing Abraham; that daily eat of the hidden manna, which descends every day from above, and that is hidden from the world, and its wisdom.

Wo unto them, from God, who make and adore *images*, as well of things in *heaven*, as upon *earth*: wherefore examine and try yourselves, by the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, who alone gives the true understanding, what your knowledge is; for the knowledge that is everlasting life, is a lively sense, enjoyment, and possession of things, which we see *inwardly*; and into this, man of himself can by no means come by all his strivings: but this is only obtained by judgments, deep humiliation, patience, daily watching, and by bearing the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that not only against Satan, but also against our own selfishness.

And I testify, that he who attains his knowledge *another way*, is a thief and a robber: for Christ is the *door*, and through him all must enter; nay, through him *only* we can *come to God*; namely, by faithfully receiving him into the heart, and embracing him; first, as a *light*, discovering corrupt nature, with all its evil fruits; then as a *judge*, condemning the same to the death of the cross, that such may come to die with him to the spirit of the world, and to the bad and vain fruits of it; as also to the spiritual powers in high places; and finally to know him as the *resurrection and life*, and as one who raiseth the soul, by the same power whereby God the Father has raised *him* from the dead.

And

And here is the pure and living knowledge obtained: this is *to know*, and *to put on* Christ, and through *him* to come *to God*, and to enter through the strait gate; the strait gate, that is too narrow for flesh and blood; and all that is not born of the Eternal Spirit is *flesh*, and shall wither away as grafs before the glorious Sun of Righteousness, which is now arisen; for *his* work alone can undergo the judgment, and endure the trial; namely, that which is *born* of him; which is not by the will of man, in his *own* time, nor by his running and willing, but by the will of God, and by the holy overshadowing of his pure Spirit. And this know, 'That God doth not overshadow the *adulterous*, but 'the *chaste* virgin mind." Who has ears, let him hear: this alone it is which can conceive, and produce that knowledge which is everlasting life; and all other knowledge, at the highest, is not higher than the golden head of that image, which, by that "small "stone cut out of the mountain, without hands," shall be broken into pieces; that is, without all the arts, sciences, labour, industry, wisdom, will, or mind of men.

Nay, it must be broken, because it has no feet, on which it can stand; nor foundation that can endure the proof; and therefore enquire into the foundation you build upon, which I beg for God's sake. Is it upon the "chief corner stone?" Upon the "Stone "which is elect and precious?" Is it upon Christ, the true rock? Against whom, nor against any one, who truly depends upon it, shall the gates of hell prevail? See then if the gates of hell, in several things, do not prevail over you, as well as over the great body of false Christians? Have you not about you the mark of the nature of the world? Do you not bow before any of its customs? Make a search with the candle of the Lord Jesus, that he has lighted within you; whereby you shall see all the fruits you produce; namely, the nature of them, and to what they tend; to wit, if they are of the nature, and tend to the lust, of *this world*, or of the nature of *God*, and to his will; for

for all true Christians ought to conform themselves unto his will in all things, that whatsoever they do may tend to the praise and glory of, the Lord, their blessed King and Lawgiver.

And therefore live ye low and humble, to that which has visited you: be like worm Jacob; let the Lord awake you, but dwell you in the tents: do not build Babels, for they must be broken: remember that humble and little David obtained the kingdom, whose trust was only in the name of the Lord, and his delight was in meditating in the pure law of his God.

This is the visit of my life and love to you, O ye scattered and hidden ones: lift up your heads, and behold your Shepherd and your Saviour; turn ye to him, follow him, and live with him: let him lead you to the place where he feeds, and where he makes his flock to rest at noon; for by his eternal light and spirit has he gathered from off the barren mountains, and from the idolatrous shepherds, a flock, which he hath led to the fold of rest, through many and great tribulations; and he who remains firm and immovable, is the *true* rest, viz. Jesus Christ, and there is no other. Therefore it is said, that the true church, coming up from the wilderness, leans upon the breast of JESUS CHRIST, her Beloved, her Lord, and her Husband, who is her strength and stay: and all those who lean upon another, will fall in the wilderness, and never come to the rest of the Lord.

Therefore lean ye upon no other, but adhere unto him; wait, watch, and walk in his holy light, which he has sent to lead you out of darkness, and therefore with you will be enabled to know him from whom it comes, and whom you seek; for the nations, who are to be saved, must walk in the "light of the Lord:" and the time comes, and now is, that we shall have no need of the sun, nor moon, nor stars; but the Lamb of God, that was slain, and now lives, shall be the light and life of all true Christians, here and hereafter.

These

These things were laid upon me by the Lord Jesus Christ, who is "the faithful and true witness," to write to you, and to bear witness of his kingdom and appearance; that ye might seek, so that ye also may find, and that ye should be ready to enter in with him to the everlasting supper, and to the rest which he has prepared for those who love him, and follow him in the way of regeneration, not loving their lives unto death, for his glorious name and testimony's sake; to whom my soul does humbly render honour and praise, and, in communion with his whole redeemed family upon earth, I ascribe all honour, power, and dominion, now henceforth and for evermore.
Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

A TEN-

A
TENDER VISITATION,
IN THE
LOVE OF GOD,

That overcomes the WORLD,

T O

ALL People in the *High* and *Low Dutch* Nations,
who hunger and thirst after Righteousness, and de-
sire to know and worship God in Truth and in Sin-
cerity: Containing a plain Testimony to the Ancient
and Apostolical Life, Way, and Worship, that God
is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his SPIRIT
and TRUTH.

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FRIENDS,

I N that love wherewith God, the Father of all mer-
cy, and our Lord Jesus Christ, hath loved and
visited my soul, I likewise love and visit you; wishing
in the same love that you, with all the saints, might
come to experience what is the knowledge, faith,
hope, worship, and service, that is of and from God,
and which alone is truly acceptable unto him; and
VOL. III. Z that

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that you might so run, that you may obtain; and that you, being armed with the spiritual weapons, may so fight, as you may gain the prize, and inherit the crown: so that the great God, the Lord of heaven and earth; he who shall judge the quick and the dead; he may be known by you to be your God, and you may know yourselves to be his children; “born not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but born again of his holy and incorruptible seed, by the word of God,”^a born of his Spirit, and joined unto him in an everlasting covenant; that while you live here, you may not live to yourselves, but to the glory of God; and when you have finished your course here below, you may lay down your heads in peace, and enter into everlasting rest with the faithful: here all tears shall be wiped away from their eyes,^b and everlasting joy and gladness shall be the portion of your inheritance.

Let me therefore, friends, speak freely, and be open-hearted unto you, and consider you my words in the fear of God, for I am pressed in spirit to write to you.

First, Have you all turned yourselves to God, who was the teacher of Adam, while in his innocency; who was the teacher of the Israelites, through his prophets, and of the true Christians through his Son Jesus; through whom he speaks his will, in the hearts of all true Christians: if not, then are you yet erring from his Spirit, and going astray from the Lord, who is the teacher of the new covenant.^c

Secondly, Know you the *end* and *design* of the coming of Christ? Are you come to an inward experience of what the same is? Hearken to the words of his beloved disciple, who has said, “For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might (put an end to sin, and) destroy the works of the devil.”^d Do you know this by your own experience?

^a John i. 13. and iii. 6. ¹ Pet. i. 23. ^b Rev. xxi. 4. ^c Heb. i. 2. ^d John iii. 8.

Ah!

Ah! Deceive not yourselves: where, pray, does sin dwell? And where are the works of the devil? Are they not in the hearts of men and women? Is not that the seat of *wickedness*, the tabernacle of *sin*, the temple of the *devil*?^e Have not men there worshipped his spirit? Have not men there bowed down before him? And are not all such born of his evil seed? Must not Christ, who is the *Seed* of God, bruise his *head*, there destroy his work, and take his kingdom from him? The soul, which by Satan is defiled, and kept in captivity, must not Christ redeem it, purify it, and save it; that it may be changed, and seasoned with the divine seed, and so come to bear the holy image of the same; to that end that Christ may come to dwell in a *pure heart*, and that God may be worshipped in his own *evangelical* temple, in his own Spirit in man and woman? What of these things are you truly come to know? And what have you felt thereof? Christ is therefore come into the world, even for that very end is he called Jesus, *viz.* that he should “save his people from their sins:”^f and to that end has John directed all to him, by these words, “Behold the “Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the “world.”^g

Look, now, to yourselves, O inhabitants of Christendom, whether he has taken away your sins, and what those sins are: examine and try yourselves, by his holy light, from what evil things you are now redeemed, which you were before subject unto; for Christ saves no man from the wrath of God, whom he hath not first redeemed from sin: for, “the wages of “sin is death”^h and “whatsoever men sow, that “they shall reap,” in the great and last day of judgment.

To whom then do you live, my friends, and in what life? Do you live in the life of God and Christ, wherein the saints of old did live, whose “lives were

^e Rev. xiii. ^f Mat. i. 21. ^g John i. 29. ^h Rom. vi. 23.

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"hid with Christ in God;"¹ and who did live, because "Christ lived in them?" Is the old wine, and also the old bottles, put away? Is the old man, with all his deeds, put off? The old evil and corrupt ground, which brings forth all evil and corrupt fruits, is that burnt up by the fire of God? For "his word" is like a fire:² the old heavens, the old service of God, peace, gladness, and the old worship, which altogether are as dead in the fallen nature, are they "rolled up as a scroll, and vesture, and melted" through the strong heat of the burning and judging "Spirit of God?" Are you become as *new bottles*, which receive the *new wine* of the kingdom of God, which endures for ever? Have you, my friends, "put" on the new man, which after God is created in "righteousness, and in true holiness?"³ Can you feel that there is brought forth in you the *new heaven*, and the *new earth*, wherein righteousness dwelleth? Consider you, who truly and sincerely seek to know the Lord, and his works in you, and "spend not your" money for that which is not bread, nor your labour "for that which satisfieth not,"⁴ nor will profit any thing in the day of account; that your souls be not deceived; but that you may be saved in the day of the Lord.

Come, you that are *weary* and *heavy laden*, and you that hunger and thirst after *righteousness*, and desire to walk in the purity and righteousness of the saints: be it known unto you, that Jesus Christ, who can discharge, ease, help, and save you all, he is near you, and stands at the *door* of your hearts, and that he waits to be gracious to you; he knocks, that you may open unto him:⁵ it is he who has visited you with his saving light, whereby he has manifested your state and condition to you; and begotten an holy feeling in you, whereby you are become weary of your evil doings; and raises up an holy thirst in you after better

¹ Col. iii. 4.

² Jer. xxiii. 29.

³ Eph. iv. 24.

⁴ Isa. lv. 2.

⁵ Rev. iii. 20. Isa. xxx. 18.

things.

things. Now then, if you desire and expect ever to be filled, and satisfied from him, then must you receive him as he is revealed, and as his holy will is made known in your hearts; and keep yourselves under his holy judgments and reproofs: for "the re-
 " proofs of instruction are the way of eternal life."
 Love, therefore, that which reproves you for evil; and turn from those evils for which you are reprov-
 " For Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and
 " her converts with righteousness." Love, I say, the judgments of Christ, and submit thereunto, and wait for him, to feel him yet more and more, that you thus may say, with one of old, " In the way of thy
 " judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee:"
 and, " with our souls have we desired thee in the
 " night season; and with our spirits within us will we
 " seek thee early: for when thy judgments are in the
 " earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn right-
 " teousness:"—" For judgment," said Christ, " am
 " I come into this world:" that is, as an holy light, to make manifest, and as a righteous judge, to condemn all unrighteousness of men: and all those that love his reproofs, and willingly suffer his chastisings and fatherly rebukes, they shall see " Judgment
 " brought forth unto victory," and that the *prince* of this *world*, the corrupt root, the corrupt nature, ground, or origin, in you, as well as the evil fruits, and ungodly works thereof, shall be *judged*. And when this is done, and is fulfilled, then you shall know what it is to sing his high praises in truth and righteousness: then you shall come to sing the song of the Lamb; and know that you, by that Lamb, are redeemed and saved.

But it may be some will ask, ' Who is able to perform so great and blessed a work ? ' Fear not, you that seek the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, with all your hearts: for God has laid *help* upon

* Prov. vi. 23. * Isa. i. 27. and iv. 4. * Isa. xxvi. 8, 9.
 * John ix. 39. * Mat. xii. 20. * Rev. v. 9.

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one that is *mighty*,^a viz. upon Jesus Christ, and he shall make your sins known unto you, and redeem you from all unrighteousness, if you will walk in his light, as his beloved disciple speaks, saying, "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." And therefore, friends, if you will be saved by the blood of Christ, then must you leave and forsake all which the light of Christ does condemn in you; yea, you must watch against your own thoughts, words and deeds, that you at unawares may not be overcome by the enemy of your souls: for he comes as a thief in the night, to destroy you. Do not live nor act so as to *grieve* the Holy Spirit of God;^o but turn your minds from all evil, in thoughts, words, and deeds; yea, if you love the light of Christ, then bring your deeds every day to the light, and see whether they are wrought in God, or no: for "all things that are reprov'd," or *justified*, "are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest is light:"^p and that light *burns as an oven*^q against all unrighteousness; yea, it is like a *refiner's fire*; for it is the fiery part of the baptism of Christ, and therefore it is called the "*brightness* of his coming, the *consuming Spirit* of his mouth," whereby that wicked one shall be revealed, and burnt up, and rooted out; the thorns and briars shall be burned up and devoured,^r and the filthiness both of flesh and spirit purged away. If, now, your sins are become a burthen to you, if you thereby are wearied, and if you heartily desire that they may be weakened in you, and at last conquered also, then let the "holy watch of Jesus" be sincerely and earnestly kept in your hearts; which *watch* is in the *light*; for in darkness is no safe nor true watching. Watch, therefore, with the light of Christ, wherewith you are enlightened; watch, I say, against every unfruitful thought,

^a Psal. lxxxi. 4. 19. ^o Eph. iv. 30. ^p Eph. v. 13. ^q Mal. iii. 2
^r 2 Thess. ii. 8. ^s Isa. x. 17.

word,

word, and work of darkness: stand upon your guard in the blessed light, and be you armed therewith, like the saints of old, that you may discern the enemy, and resist him, when, and howsoever, he does appear and approach unto you; that so he may not overcome you, but that you may obtain victory over him: for when he sees his allurements ineffectual, his snares discovered and broken, (as this is done in the light of Christ) then is he weakened in his attempts, and your souls grow stronger to resist him, until at last he be wholly defeated and conquered: for this was the way of the ancients, who were more than conquerors,* who walking after the light and spirit of Jesus, were redeemed from condemnation, which will come upon all those that live after the flesh. O! this *light*, and this *grace*, bringeth salvation! For it teacheth us “to deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts,” which *bring* condemnation, “and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.” And this is the only living way to the everlasting rest and peace of God. This was the teacher of the saints, this was Paul’s refuge and comfort in his greatest temptations. “My grace,” said the Lord, “is sufficient for thee.” And as it has been in times past, so is it in this our day, to all them that come to receive it, embrace it, and love it, and who are willing to be guided by it, and follow it; and to them said the Lord, “Depart you from all evil ways, from all vain uses and customs, and from the vanities of this world. Receive you my counsel, which is the living oracle, or the voice of God, and the fountain of all wisdom; and do not hew out to yourselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.”

Thirdly, Are your preachers and teachers sent by God, or by *men*? How are they come to be your teachers? Consider of this seriously: are they of those that have accompanied with Jesus? Are they instructed

* Rom. viii. 14, 37. Titus ii. 11, 12. 2 Cor. xiii. 9.
 † Isa. lii. 11. Prov. viii. 1, &c. Jer. ii. 13. Gal. i. 1.

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and sanctified by him? Are they born again? Have they received their commissions, and are they sent forth by him? Are they true and faithful witnesses? Have they *heard, seen, tasted, and handled* that which they speak and deliver unto you?^a Is it the living word which they preach unto you? Or do they, by their *own* spirit and understanding, in their own time and will, explain and interpret those matters, which the saints of old, and the primitive Christians, spake forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? If it be so, then have they not received such work, or such victory, through the Holy Spirit in themselves, as the saints had experience of.^b

Fourthly, Do your preachers turn your minds to the *light* of *Christ*, (that is, the *life* in him) which shines in your *hearts*; which alone discovers *sin* to the creature, and shews every man what the Lord doth *require* of him?^c Do they direct you to that light which did lead the saints of old; and, by their *believing* in the light, made them *children* of light; wherein the "nations of them that are saved shall walk?"^d Do they turn you, I say, to this light, to this grace and spirit, in yourselves, which cometh by Jesus Christ? Does your knowledge, feeling, experience, and worship, consist in the revelations and works of this blessed principle of God's begetting in you? So that your faith and hope consist not in words *only* (though they may be all true in words) nor in the education of an outward religious persuasion by vain teachers; but that your faith and hope are grounded, and builded upon the "power of the living God," who giveth victory over the world, unto all those, who, in their hearts, believe in the light of Jesus:^e and this blessed hope purifies the heart, and fortifies the soul.

Fifthly, When you come to your meetings, both preachers and people, what do you do? Do you then

^a Mat. xxviii. 19. Acts i. 4, 5, 8. ¹ John i. 1. ^b 2 Pet. i. 31,
^c Acts xxvi. 18. Micah vi. 8. ^d John xii. 26. Rev. xxi,
23, 24. ^e 1 John v. 4.

gather

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gather bodily only, and kindle a *fire*, compassing yourselves about with the *sparks* of your *own* kindling, and so please yourselves, and walk in the "Light of your own fire, and in the sparks which you have kindled," as those did in the time of old, whose portion it was "to lie down in sorrow?" Or rather, do you sit down in *true silence*, resting from your own will and workings, and waiting upon the Lord, with your minds fixed in that *light*, wherewith Christ has enlightened you, until the Lord breathes life in you, refresheth you, and prepares you, and your spirits and souls, to make you fit for his service, that you may offer unto him a pure and spiritual sacrifice? For "that which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption:" For "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God: but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life eternal," through Christ, who has quickened him.

What have you felt then, my friends, of this work in your hearts? Has Christ there appeared? What has he done for you? Have you bowed down before him, and received him in your hearts? Is he *formed* in you? Do you live *no more*, but does Christ live *in* you? For if you know not Christ to be *in* you, then are you yet *reprobates*,^k though you confess him in words, as the apostle said of old.

All you, therefore, that hunger and thirst after the righteousness of God's kingdom, which is an everlasting blessed kingdom, turn in, my friends, and come to Christ, who stands at the door of your hearts, and knocks.^l He is the "light of the world," and it concerns all true servants of the Lord, to direct all men to this light; else have they not a right discerning, nor true sight or taste of the things of God, viz. "To turn men from darkness to light," from the

f Isa. l. 11. ^g Lam. iii. 25, 26, 28. John i. 9. ^h John iii. 6.
Gal. vi. 8. ⁱ 1 Cor. xv. 50. ^k Gal. iv. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 5.
^l Rev. iii. 20.

kingdom

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kingdom of Satan, to the power and kingdom of God; from the dark inventions and human traditions of men, to Christ, the great light of God, the High Priest, and holy Prophet, whom all men must hear, and out of whose mouth the law of the Spirit of life must be received.^m By this he judges men in righteousness, and in him are hid all the "treasures of wisdom and knowledge."ⁿ This is the High Priest of all true Christians, and their chief treasure.

Happy, therefore, are all those that receive him in their hearts, those that know him to be their light, their Guide, their King, their Law-giver, their Bishop, and their heavenly Shepherd; who follow him through all things, and through all persecutions and sufferings, and that stedfastly love his cross (the power of God) and with all gladness embrace the reproach thereof; who have experienced, that *without* Christ they can do nothing;^o and therefore wait for his divine power, strength, and wisdom, to govern and guide them: for such can receive no testimony from any preachers, except that testimony which is given from the holy unction, in and through them;^p because men, without Christ, can do nothing, as he has said: for men cannot preach, men cannot pray, men cannot sing as it ought to be; yea, men, without him, can do nothing to the praise and glory of God: for it is only the *Son* of God that glorifies the *Father* through his children.

And therefore let him kindle the fire with the pure coals from his holy altar; and do not you offer to him in your self-will; no, Jesus did not do his *own* will, but the will of his *Father*.^q So let us not do our own, but *his* will; he has done nothing but what his Father had made *known* unto him: and we must all witness what Christ has declared unto us, and what he has wrought in us, or else we should be false witnesses.^r "Woman," said Christ to his mother, "mine hour is not yet come:" so that he did wait his Father's

^m Rom. viii. 2. ⁿ Col. ii. 3. ^o John xv. 5. ^p 1 John ii. 20.
^q John vi. 38. iii. 11. ^r 1 John i. 3.

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time, in whose hands the times and seasons are: we must *wait*, but God *orders*; and happy are those who do his will. "My sheep," said Christ, "hear my voice, and follow me; but they will not hear the voice of strangers." Now those that speak, if their voices and conversations are not with the life, the power, and the Spirit of Christ, they are strange voices (I pray you observe well); and Christ's sheep will not sit under *such* voices, nor under *such* shepherds; who do but *steal* the words of the prophets' and apostles, but do not *experience* them, nor succeed them in their spirits and conversations; for Christ's sheep do discern those that *so* teach, from *his*, for he has given them that spiritual gift to *see* them; which is not to be had nor found in the crafty wisdom of the world, with all its human learnings, arts and sciences; but stands in the innocent nature of the *true sheep*, and for them it is like *natural*; viz. souls that are become harmless, and are arrived at the state of a *little child*; for to such doth God reveal his secrets; because, by the work of regeneration, they are become his own begotten; and to such belongs the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the mysteries thereof.

Wherefore, pray take notice how it is with you: is sin revealed? Yes: through what? By the light of Christ. But is sin likewise judged? Have you submitted yourselves to his light? And are you therewith united? Is your old self-righteousness thereby judged? And are thereby all your false judgments judged? Is the prince of this world judged in you? Does Christ go *before* you? And does he give you eternal life? Examine and search yourselves, for thus he deals with his sheep: "I go before them, they follow me, and, behold, I give them life eternal." Does Christ go before you, and lead you in all your worship, which you do as your bounden duty to God? Do you wait for his leadings? Is it the religion of Christ wherein you walk? Read his holy sermon on the mount. Or

* John x. 27. * Jer. xxiii. 30. * John x. 4.

else,

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else, do you go before *him*, and do you climb up *another* way,^a before he stirs in you, before he moves you, before he gives you power and ability to approach his throne? Ah! true silence before the Lord is better abundantly than *forward* prayers, and *self-willed* offers, or any traditional and formal performances: for consider, that it is "life eternal to know God." Now, no man can know him, who has not heard his voice: and no man can hear his voice, who is not silent in himself, and waits not patiently for him, that he may "hear what God will speak to his soul,"^b through Jesus, the great, holy, and heavenly High Priest of God to mankind, who is the heavenly Prophet also, unto all them that believe in his name. But, my friends, do you know the fellowship of his holy life, of his blessed cross, death, and resurrection?^c Do you confess him inwardly in yourselves, as well as outwardly before men? If so, then has he given you life eternal. Again, if you feel not in you "life and "immortality brought to light,"^d then are you yet in your sins, and know not the "Lamb of God, who "taketh away the sin of the world." For "as "many as received him, to them gave he power to "become the children of God."^e And they know, by the witness of God in themselves, that they are "of God," as said the beloved disciple John, "and "the whole world lieth in wickedness."^f

Beloved friends, beware therefore of *idolatry*, and worshipping of *images*; I mean the worship of *inward* images, which is an *inward* idolatry; for if you shew a great aversion against all outward idolatry, yet if you worship God after the imaginations you have of God, and which you conceive in your own minds, without the inspiration of the Almighty, you worship images of your own framing, and so come to commit idolatry. And therefore take heed that your worship

^a John x. i. 8. ^b John xvii. 3. ^c Ps. lxxxv. 8. ^d Phil. iii. 10, 11. ^e 2 Tim. i. 10. ^f John i. 29. ^g John i. 12.
^h 1 John v. 19.

does

does not consist in your own imaginations, and self-conceits of God; and do not bow down to such, (which is, indeed, to *yourselfes*) and then think, or presume, that you are bowing down to God and Christ; when, on the contrary, it is nothing else but a mere picture of your own making. And this is the great abomination^f and loss of poor Christendom, viz. That the spirit which deceives man, "sits in the place of " God, and is worshipped as God,"^g by those that know not the true and living God, who is as a consuming fire, and as everlasting burnings in the soul, against the sin, righteousness, and judgment of the world.^h

Now he that revealeth the Father, is the Son, the true light: for he has said, "No man knoweth the " Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will " reveal him."ⁱ How has Christ revealed the Father unto you? Are you come to Jesus? If so, then you have known the godly sorrow, the true mourning, and that repentance which men need never to repent of: but if you have not known this day of judgment and contrition, then are you not come to Christ. Wherefore come you to Jesus, viz. to his appearance in you, by his divine light and spirit, which every way discovers and judges the world's nature, spirit, and image in you: for to him is all judgment committed, and he will reveal the Father; yea, "he that hath seen the " Son, has likewise seen the Father;"^k for he is *in* the Father, and the Father is in *him*. If, now, the manifestation of Jesus in you, as well of the Father as of the Son, is the foundation of your knowledge, so that God and Christ, "whom to know is life eternal,"^l are become the holy Object of your worship; then are you real worshippers in his spirit and truth; then are you come out from the workmanship, from the will and imaginations of your own spirits, and

^g Dan. xii. 11. ^h 2 Thess. ii. 4. ⁱ John xvi. 8. ^j Mat. xi. 27. ^k John xiv. 10, 11. ^l John iv. 24.

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from all human worship, and are come to the worship of the Spirit of the living God, and to live in him, be led and moved by him in all godly performances; for the *spirit* of *man* only knows the *things* of *man*, but the *Spirit* of God knows and reveals the *things* of God.^a And this worship of his kingdom and church has Christ raised up again in these our days, which was set up by Christ sixteen hundred years ago. And in this worship have the true followers worshipped the Father, before the great apostacy from the spirit and power of the Lord broke in upon the primitive ages of the church: and after such a glorious manner shall it be restored; yea, so it is already with many thousands, whom God, through the appearance of Christ in the heart, has gathered, both in our and other countries, whereby he has judged them as men in the flesh (in their fleshly lusts, in their fleshly worships) that they might live unto God and Christ, who quickened them by the death of the cross, and justified them as men in the Spirit risen from the dead.

Glory be therefore to God, who lives and reigns on high, that that dark and sorrowful night is vanishing, and that the sun-rising of the eternal day has already appeared, and is arising more and more over the nations in the world; in which day, "Babylon, the mother of harlots, [false-worshippers] shall come in remembrance before the God of the whole earth;" viz. That Babylon, which has followed *merchandizing* with the *scripture*, and with the *souls of men*, and has persecuted the spiritual seed, the children of God, and faithful witnesses of Jesus (although clothed in *sack-cloth*); because they would not receive her *mark*,^o and her *fine linen* too, nor submit to her fleshly birth, invention, profession, worship, and dominion.

This Babylon lives but too much yet in every one, of all sorts of people or professors, by whom the truth

^a 1 Cor. ii. 11. John iv. 23. ^a Rev. xvi. 19. ^o Rev. xviii. 13. xi. 3. xiii. 16.

is held in unrighteousness. When they see not through the light of the Spirit of Christ, and when their knowledge and worship of God is not received and performed by that same blessed Spirit; there, I say, is Babylon, that is, *confusion*: "Oh, come out of her, my people!" saith the Lord, "and I will receive you."

He that calls God his Father, and is not *born* of God; he that calls Christ Lord, and not by the Holy Spirit, but mean while is serving another master; those that attribute to themselves the words of the *regenerated*, their revelations and experiences, when they are yet *unregenerated*, and have no part therein, but endeavour in all these things to make themselves a fair covering; they shall experience, in the day of the Lord, that it shall profit them nothing: for "Wo to those," said the Lord, "that cover with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counsel, but not of me." Let, therefore, all those that are yet in Babylon, hasten out of her speedily; and you that are in the *suburbs* of that great city, hasten you away; yea, make haste with all speed! prepare yourselves to meet the Lamb, your bridegroom; who comes now to you, who are mourning, hungering, and thirsting, after him, to lead you out of your bewildered states, to his saving light, and blessed appearance; for now he sees you, and now he calls you, and knocks at your doors to come in unto you: and therefore open ye unto him, and let him in; let him no longer lie in the manger,¹ nor at your doors; but rather give him your hearts, and let him reign over you as a King, for he has bought us with his own precious blood, and is therefore worthy that we serve and honour him, and that he reign over us; and that he be our King and Lawgiver, who gave his own life for us, that we should not perish, but have everlasting life in him.* He has laid down his life for you, and can you not

¹ Isa. xxx. 1. * Luke ii. 7. * John iii. 16.

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lay down your sins for his sake; yea, for your own sakes? Consider that he descended from the glory of his Father, to bring you to glory; and can you not depart from the withering glory of this world, that you may inherit his glory, which is everlasting? It is that wrong false self, in man, which only hinders it; it is that only which objects against it, that consults, and endeavours to avoid the cross.

This *self*, has in all times been desirous to be in great esteem, and has therefore, in all ages, hindered men from doing the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven: but where *self* is disannulled, and men have had no great esteem for the selfish part, but have humbled themselves to the death of the cross of Christ, that he might deliver them from the "wrath to come," and give them "an inheritance in the kingdom of his Father," there the will of God will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, and therein will the heavenly Father be glorified. On the contrary, those that live in sin, they are in communion with the devil, and drink his cup of unrighteousness: which, however it is sweet in the mouth, is afterwards bitter in the belly; and though it be sweet here for a time, it shall afterwards be crabbed and distasteful. Again, the cup of Christ is here bitter in the mouth, but sweet hereafter in the belly; here sour, but hereafter pleasant: "You," said he, "shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice:" but observe the end hereof; "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy, but their rejoicing into weeping."

And this is therefore the word of truth; no man shall enjoy the cup of blessing, or drink out of the cup of salvation, but he that has first drank of the cup of tribulation; he that has first known his fellowship with the sufferings of Christ, and of his holy mystical cross: for those that suffer with him, shall reign with him, and no cross, no crown.

* John xvi. 20.

Lean

Lean then upon his breast, for so does the bride in spirit. Trust in him, and not in man,[†] nor in yourselves; for he will guide you best, because he is given you of God to be your heavenly guide. And if it should be in a way under the cross (which way is proper to him) yet it is, notwithstanding, a way of joy and pleasantness, and all his holy paths are peace to those that love him. O, therefore, feel his holy drawings, and wait in his light upon his holy movings in your souls! “*Stand still*, and see his *salvation* wrought in you, by his *own arm*,”[‡] that you may know him to be Jesus indeed; viz. a *Saviour*, as well from your *sins here*, as from the *wrath to come*; and that he may preserve you from vain thoughts, vain words, and vain conversations, yea, from the voluntary worship of this world, and from the slavish fear of man; to the end, that he may work his own work in you, and make you conformable to his own blessed image; and that you may be made free by the Lord, through the power of his everlasting gospel, which is now again sounded forth, by his own angel, to the inhabitants of the earth, calling with a loud voice, “*Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.*”[§] And you must feel this judgment in your hearts, that the prince of this world, with all his evil *seed*, with all his wrong *plants* and appearances, may be judged in you;^{*} and that you may be witnesses upon earth for God, and the Lamb, that sits upon the throne, against all darkness of men and devils; nay, against death, hell, and the grave; and that God may bless you with all sorts of blessings in Christ Jesus.

But yet I find myself pressed in spirit to give you one warning more, viz. that you would not longer use vain words (though true in themselves) because they are worth nothing; for they take God’s name in vain,

[†] Cant. viii. 5. [‡] Jer. xvii. 5. [§] Exod. xiv. 13, 14. ^{*} Rev. xiv. 6, 7. ^{*} Mat. xv. 13.

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that use it without life and power: and I intreat all those that endeavour to know God, and come up to the true life of his dear Son, that you make no profession of worship, without the feeling, preparing, and ordering of the true and overcoming power of God; for such worship is not of God, and such professors are poor, lean, naked and miserable people; yea, they are only as chaff among the corn: and therefore beware you of "that woman Jezabel, the false prophetess," of whom the early Christians were warned, who has the *words*, but not the *life*, of the Son of God: her preaching tends to death; she makes a talk of the sound and fame of wisdom, but will not afterwards harbour her, when she cries in her streets; she awakens none, she brings no man to God; she does not build up in the heavenly work, nor administer the right spiritual bread to the soul: for Christ only is the bread which gives life eternal;² and those that will eat of this bread, must first come to him; let him into their hearts, as Lord and Master, to provide and order his to his praise; and as such must he be received, when he appears in their souls, even as a "refiner's fire," and as a fuller's soap,³ to purify and refine from all unrighteousness; yea, to reveal unto men their sins, and destroy the same with the brightness of his coming, and with the Spirit of his mouth, in which no deceit is found. He is that light, in the brightness of his coming, which you must love, and whose testimony you must keep; and he is the quickening Spirit, whose breath of his mouth revives the soul, and destroys the sin that slays it: for all those that come to receive him in this office, in this way, and in this work, shall also know, that he is the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," the spiritual passover, the heavenly bread, the true vine, which bringeth forth the new wine of the kingdom; the blessed olive-tree; yea, the tree of life, and eternal salvation, which grows in the midst of the paradise

² Rev. ii. 20.

³ John vi. 32, 33, 35, 51.

⁴ Mal. iii. 2.
of

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of God, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.^b

This is a salutation to you all, from the holy and fervent love which God has poured into my heart and soul; who am in a travail to help the nations to be gathered to Christ, the light and salvation thereof; that Zion may be the joy, and Jerusalem the praise, of the whole earth.^c Amen, Amen.

W. PENN.

John i. 29. 1 Cor. v. 7. John vi. 51. xv. 1. Rom. xi. 24.
Rev. ii. 7. c Isa. lx. 3. lxii. 7.

T R A V E L S

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T H E

P R E F A C E to the R E A D E R.

THIS ensuing journal of my travels in Holland and Germany, in the service of the gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own, and some relations and particular friends satisfaction, as the long time it hath lain silent doth shew: but a copy that was found amongst the late countess of Conway's papers falling into the hands of a person that much frequented that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good: which, upon perusal, I have found a willingness to comply with, hoping that the Lord will make the reading of it effectual to some into whose hands it may fall; as well those who have received a dispensation of the same ministry, for their encouragement in their publick service for God, as those who are under the same ministry, unto zeal and faithfulness.

For it is the glorious gospel day, in which God is exalting his dear Son, as Prophet, Priest, and King, in the hearts of his people. Oh! that the nations would hear him, their only saving health, and Israel's great Shepherd, who takes care of his sheep, that hear his voice, and gives unto them that follow him, in the daily cross, unto regeneration, eternal life; and who hath sent, and is sending forth, his servants, to gather home the sheep, that are gone astray in all nations, that so there may be but one Shepherd, and one sheepfold, according to the glorious promise made to these latter times; in which he said he would be the "teacher of his people himself:" for he is teaching thousands, by the light, spirit, and grace of his

So

SON CHRIST, in whom he is well pleased. To this, God hath sent forth his servants, in this day, to turn all people, as God's call and visitation to the nations. And blessed are all those that hearken to this testimony, both mediately and immediately.

For God is awaking men to the knowledge of his glory, in the face or appearance of Christ, by his Spirit in their hearts and consciences; which reveals to men the Father, yea, the deep things of God.

Oh! that they would hear, and fear, and learn the things that make for their eternal peace! For if the righteous scarcely are saved, where, O where, shall they appear that neglect so great salvation! A salvation that comes so *near* them, as to knock at the door of their hearts; that searches them, and tries their reins, and tells unto them their most inward thoughts, and brings a line of judgment over all their words and works. This is Christ Jesus, the light of the world, that was given of God for salvation to the ends of the earth. He has *enlightened* all, and shines to all, and calls all, that they should see their sins, and be sorry for them, and forsake them, and take up his daily cross, and follow him, whom God hath given for an *example*, as well as a PROPITIATION for our sins; and none can know him to be their propitiation, that reject him as their example and leader in their lives and conversations. Wherefore, reader, be serious, inward, and inquisitive, for thy soul's sake. What faith hast thou? One that overcomes the world; or one that the spirit of the world overcomes, which is not the faith of God's elect, without which we cannot please God? For that faith works by *love*; such a love to God as will not offend him, but seeks his glory through a most willing obedience to his holy will. Blessed are the souls in which this love dwells; for such have none in heaven but God, nor in the earth in comparison of him. As they receive all good from him, so they resign all up to him; and though it be through many tribulations that they must attain the rest of God, yet as nothing can separate them from
his

his love, so neither can any thing deprive them of their reward in the end.

Wherefore, reader, be thou persuaded to take thy lot among that blessed number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou seest the way to that divine privilege; walk in it; for the end crowns all: if one of that number, that have chosen God for their portion, be diligent, zealous, and fervent in the work and service of God. Redeem thy time, and run thy race with care and constancy; looking to Jesus, the Author, that he may be the Finisher of thy faith. Remember who said, "There are many mansions prepared for the faithful." Do we believe and look for another world? Let us not then live in this as if there were no other. Let our eyes be upon our better world, and live here as strangers, that are but on our way to our eternal home; that so we may answer the end of God's love, by working out the salvation of our own souls, by his power, with fear and trembling; knowing God will judge all, by Christ Jesus, according to the deeds done in the body.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has some passages in it that may engage thy soul to seriousness, and let thee see how good God is to those that go on his holy errands. Mayest thou be heartily affected with this testimony of his love, and presence with his people; and feel good desires raised in thee to serve the Lord also, according to his blessed will, in thy day, that peace thou mayest know to thy soul when time here shall be no more. I am,

Thy assured friend in the best things,

W. P E N N.

T H E

T H E
J O U R N A L.

BEING the first day of the week,^a I left my dear wife and family, at Worminghurst in Suffex, in the fear and love of God; and came well to London that night.

The next day,^b I employed myself on friends behalf, that were in sufferings, till the evening, and then went to my own mother's in Essex.

The next morning^c I took my journey to Colchester, and met George Wats of London upon the way; who returned with me, and came well to that town that evening.

We lodged at John Furly's the elder, but had a blessed meeting at Jonathan Furly's house that night.

The next morning^d early I left Colchester, and came to Harwich about noon, accompanied with George Wats and John Furly the elder, William Tallcoat, and J. Witherly of Colchester; where we found dear G. F. at J. Vandewall's house, with many more friends.

After dinner, we went all to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a blessed earnest of his love and presence, that should be with us in this voyage: for his holy, overcoming, refreshing power, did open all our hearts, and many of our mouths in ministry, prayer,

An. 1677. The first figure is the day of the month; the next the month; and the last the day of the week.

^a 22. 5. 1. ^b 23. 5. 2. ^c 24. 5. 3. ^d 25. 5. 4. and

and praises, to the magnifying of his own name and truth in that place.

The meeting done, we returned to John Vandewall's house, where we took our leave of friends; that is to say, of the friends of that place, with others that came with us, or met us there: and so we went on board of the packet-boat; where, by the special favour of the master of the packets to me, having formerly served under my father, we had the best accommodation given to us. Many of the friends accompanied us to the ship; not leaving us till all was fixed, and then we parted in the fellowship of Jesus.

Those that came over, were G. Fox, R. Barclay, G. K. G. Wats, J. Furly, W. Tallcoat, J. Yeamans, E. K. myself, with two of our servants.

We set sail about three in the morning, being the fifth day of the week;^c and got the sixth day at night^f within half a league of the Briel.

We had good service those two days in the ship with several passengers, French and Dutch: and though they seemed at first to be shy of us, and to slight us, yet at last their hearts were much opened in kindness towards us, and the universal principle had place.

The next morning friends^g were fetched on shore by a boat of Rotterdam, with some friends of that city, that came to the Briel to meet us. The friends that came were A. Sonneman, B. Furly, and S. Johnson, Vettekeuken, with three young men that live at B. Furly's house.

After we had eaten, we took boat immediately for Rotterdam; where we arrived about noon, and where many friends came to see us, among whom we were comforted.

The next day, being the first day of the week,^h we had two meetings at B. Furly's house; whither resorted a great company of people, some of them being of the considerablest note of that city. And Oh! blessed

^c 26. 5. 5. ^f 27. 5. 6. ^g 28. 5. 7. ^h 29. 5. 1.

be the true word of life, that never faileth them that rest upon it, and abide in it, the gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted; and God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only begotten Son in us: and truth is honourable in the eyes of several in that place.

The next day, being the second day of the week,^a we spent in visiting friends from house to house; not in one company, being lodged in several quarters of the city. All our visits were precious meetings; for, indeed, for that end God brought us into this land.

Several of us dined and supped that day at two great mens houses, where we had blessed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our glory; that mystery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing, even Christ Jesus, the light and life of the world, manifested in us.

The next day, being the third day of the week,^b G. F. J. F. W. T. and myself, after having broken our fast at A. Sonneman's, took boat for Leyden; where we came that night, in order to be at Haerlem next day, at a meeting appointed by G. F. and myself from Rotterdam: being accompanied by J. Bocliffs, J. Arents, J. Claus, that came from Amsterdam on purpose to conduct us thither.

At Haerlem we arrived about the 11th hour;^c and went to the house of a good old man, that had long waited for, and is now come to behold, the consolation and salvation of Israel.

After we had a little refreshed ourselves, we went to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to friends, but many sober Baptists and professors, that came in, and abode in the meeting to the end: blessed be the name of the Lord.

The meeting done, we went to Amsterdam, in company with several friends of that city, and of

^a 30. 5. 2. ^b 31. 5. 3. ^c 1. 6. 4.

Alchmaer and Embden, who met us at the meeting at Haerlem. We lodged at Gertruyd Dirick's house.

G. K. and his wife, and R. B. stayed over the fourth day's meeting at Rotterdam, and so came not till the next day; which was the day of the general meeting of friends in this country.

The fifth day of the week,^a at G. D.'s house, the general meeting was held both of men and women: and the Lord, who is setting up his own kingdom by his own power, owned us with his own blessed presence, and opened us in that wisdom and love, that all things ended with peace, great concord and comfort: many things being spoken, especially by our dear friend G. F. that were of good service; and, I hope, will dwell with them for ever.

These several things agreed upon, being of good favour and report, I think fit here to insert them.

At the general meeting of friends at Amsterdam, the second of the sixth month, 1677.

1. **B**E it known to all men, That the power of God, the gospel, is the authority of all our mens and womens meetings; that every heir of that power is an heir of that authority, and so becometh a living member of right of either of those meetings, and of the heavenly fellowship and order in which they stand; which is not of man, nor by man.

2. That each monthly meeting have a collection apart; and also that there be another collection quarterly at Amsterdam from each meeting for general services; and that it be not disposed of, but by the consent of the said quarterly meeting.

3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth a yearly meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which friends in the Palatinate, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frederickstadt, &c. be invited: of which meeting there shall

be given notice to the friends of the yearly meeting in London, to be kept always on the fifth day of that week, which is fully the third week following after the yearly meeting at London.

4. It is also agreed upon, that henceforth this general meeting is to be changed into a quarterly meeting: and that the first quarterly meeting hereafter shall be on the second fifth-day of the ninth month following, and so forth every quarter on the second fifth-day of the month. This second of the ninth month is to be this first quarterly meeting.

5. It is also agreed, that henceforth a monthly meeting in Friesland should be established, as also at Rotterdam; and that on the second second-day of each month: and at Harlingen upon the third third-day of the month.

6. Farther, that in the interim, the friends of Alchmaer, Haerlem, and Waterland, are to have their monthly meeting with friends at Amsterdam: and to begin the said meeting the sixth of the seventh month, and so forth; always upon the first second-day of the first week of the month, at the eighth hour.

7. And farther concerning gospel order: though the doctrine of Christ Jesus requireth his people to admonish a brother or sister twice, before they tell the church; yet that limiteth none, so as they shall use no longer forbearance before they tell the church: but that they shall not less than twice admonish their brother or sister, before they tell the church. And it is desired of all, that before they publickly complain, they wait, in the power of God, to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or sister, before they expose him or her to the church. Let this be weightily considered.

8. And farther, when the church is told, and the party admonished by the church again and again, and he or she remain still unsensible and unreconciled; let not final judgment go forth against him or her, till every one of the meeting hath cleared his or her conscience: that if any thing be insisted upon any farther

ther to visit such a transgressor, they may clear themselves; if possibly the party may be reached and saved. And after all are clear of the blood of such an one, let the judgment of friends, in the power of God, go forth against him or her, as moved for the Lord's honour and glory's sake: that no reproach may come or rest upon God's holy name, truth, and people.

9. As much as possibly can be, let all differences be ended by some honest friends; and trouble not the monthly or quarterly meetings with them: and if that will not do, proceed to your particular monthly meetings. But if they be not there ended neither, then take aside six honest friends out of the quarterly meeting, and let them hear and determine the matter. And in case any person or persons be so obstinate, as that they refuse the sense and love of friends, and will not comply with them, then to proceed towards them according to the way of truth in such cases.

10. That all such as behold their brother or sister in a transgression, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding spirit to reprove or admonish him or her, but in the power of the Lord, and Spirit of the Lamb, in the wisdom and love of the truth, which suffereth thereby, to admonish such an offender. So may the soul of such a brother or sister be seasonably and effectually reached unto, and overcome, and have cause to bless the name of the Lord on their behalf: and so a blessing may be rewarded into the bosom of the faithful and tender brother or sister that so admonisheth.

11. And be it known unto all, we cast out none from among us: for if they go from the light, and spirit, and power in which our unity is, they cast out themselves. And it has been our way to admonish them, that they may come to the spirit and light of God which they are gone from, and so come into the unity again. For our fellowship standeth in the light, which the world hateth, and in the spirit, which the world grieveth, vexeth, and quencheth; and if they
will

will not hear our admonitions, the light condemneth them; and then goeth our testimony out against them.

12. That no condemnation is to go farther than the transgression is known; and if he or she return, and give forth a condemnation against him or herself, which is more desirable than that we should do it, this is a testimony of his or her repentance and resurrection before God, his people, and the whole world: as David, when Nathan came to admonish him, Psal. li.

13. That no testimony by way of condemnation be given forth against any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and till such time as they have had gospel order, according to Christ's doctrine.

14. And if any brother or sister hear any report of any brother or sister, let him or her go to the party, and know the truth of the report; and, if true, let the thing be judged; if false, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any should report it at a second or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goeth, let such be brought to judgment: "For thou shalt neither raise, nor suffer, a false report to lie upon my people, saith the Lord;" for they are to be holy as he is holy, and just as he is just.

15. And if any controversy, or weakness, should appear in either mens or womens meetings, let it not be told out of your meetings; because such speeches tend to the defaming of such persons and meetings, and to the hurt of the common unity, and breach of the heavenly society and privilege.

This is an account of what passed in that meeting.

Next day,^a notice being already given, we had a large publick meeting, in which the found of the everlasting gospel, testament and covenant went forth;

and the meeting ended with a sweet and weighty sense.

That evening we had a more select meeting of friends than the day before, in which the nature of marriage, and the practice of friends relating to it, and other things, were very weightily and closely discoursed. The resolutions were these following:

1. A scruple concerning the law of the magistrate about marriage, being proposed and discoursed of in the fear of God among friends, in a select meeting, it was the universal and unanimous sense of friends, 'That joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate.' For it is God's ordinance, and not man's; and therefore friends cannot consent that they should join them together: for *we* marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses.

2. But yet if a friend, through tendernefs, have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be concluded, they may publish the same, after the thing hath by friends been found clear; and, after the marriage is performed in a publick meeting of friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of friends in truth throughout the world, (the manner of the holy men and women of old) may go and carry a copy of a certificate to the magistrate; and they are left to their freedom herein, that if they please they may register it. But for priests or magistrates to marry, or join any in that relation, it is not according to scripture; and our testimony and practice have been always against it. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work only in the restoration.

3. If any friend have it upon him to reprint any book already printed, and approved either in England or here, they may do it upon their own charges.

4. It is also agreed, that the care of reading and approving books be laid upon some of every meeting; to the end no book be published but in the unity: yet any other faithful friends, not so nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all these cases it is desired,

desired, that all would avoid unnecessary disputes about words, which profit not, but keep in the love that edifieth.

5. It is farther concluded, that the general stock of the quarterly meeting be not disposed of, but by the consent of the quarterly meeting. But if betwixt times there shall be a pressing necessity concerning the publick, let that monthly meeting, where it shall fall out, lay down the money, and give in an account at the next quarterly meeting, in order to their relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all things be done without favour, affection, relation, or any respect to persons, even for the Lord's sake, and his blessed everlasting truth; that God may bless and prosper his people.

And let all things be written down, both as to your monthly and quarterly meeting collections; what you receive, and what you disburse: that all may be fair and clear to the satisfaction of all that desire to see and examine the books.

And the Lord's fear, and life, and power was over all, in which the Lord God preserve his for ever.

The next day, being the seventh day of the week, was employed in visiting of friends, and preparing ourselves for a farther journey: that is to say, G. K. R. B. B. F. and myself.

Finding letters here from the friends of Dantzick, complaining of their heavy sufferings they underwent; informing us also that the king of Poland was there, and asking advice about an address to him; it fell upon me to write the following letter, in the name of the friends of Dantzick.

• 4. 6. 7.

To the KING of POLAND.

GREAT PRINCE!

ACTIONS of justice, mercy and truth, are worthy of all men; but in a most excellent manner of the serious consideration of kings and princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzick, have been long great sufferers, not for any wickedness committed against the royal law of God, or any breach of those civil laws of this city, that relate to the well-government of it in all natural and civil things; but purely and only for the cause of our tender consciences towards God.

This severity being by us represented to the magistrates of this city, we could not as yet receive from them any relief; some expressing, as if easing the burden of our oppressions, should give thee, O king, an occasion of dissatisfaction against them, who art our acknowledged protector.

Being thus necessitated, and in a manner driven to make this address unto thee, take it not amiss that we, with that humility and patience that become the servants and followers of Jesus, and with all manner of Christian respect and sincerity of mind, briefly relate to thee the most fundamental principles most surely believed by us: which, we hope, thou wilt believe deserve not those punishments that are inflicted upon us as evil-doers.

1. We do reverently believe, That there is One God and Father, One Lord Jesus Christ, and One Holy Spirit, and these Three are One. Eph. iv. 6.

2. We believe the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to have been given forth by divine inspiration; and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; "able to make the man of God wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus." 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

3. That

3. That these holy scriptures are not to be understood, but by the discoveries, teachings, and operations of that Eternal Spirit from whence they came.

4. We believe that all mankind, through disobedience to the Spirit of God, are fallen short of the glory of God, and in that state are under condemnation: but that God, out of his infinite goodness and kindness, hath sent his Son a light into the world, that whosoever believeth and obeyeth this light, should not abide in darkness, but have the light of eternal life.

5. We believe this gift of light and grace, through Jesus Christ, to be universal; and that there is not a man or woman upon earth that hath not a sufficient measure of this light, and to whom this grace hath not appeared, to reprove their ungodly works of darkness, and to lead them that obey it to eternal salvation. And this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, under all their great professions of God, Christ, Spirit, and scriptures, that though Christ hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their deeds to the light, but hate the light, and love their dark customs and practices rather than the light, because their deeds are evil.

6. We do believe in the birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that he laid down his life for the ungodly, not to continue so, but that they should deny their wickedness and ungodliness, and live soberly, righteously, and godlikely in this present evil world; as the saints of old did, that were redeemed from the earth, and sat in heavenly places.

7. We do believe, that as the devil, through man's disobedience, brought sin into man's heart, so Christ Jesus, through man's belief in, and obedience to, his holy Spirit, light, and grace, cleanseth the heart of sin, destroyeth the works of the devil, finisheth transgression, and bringeth in everlasting righteousness: that as the devil hath had his kingdom of darkness in man, so Christ may have his kingdom of light, life, righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost in the

heart of man: and not that Christ Jesus saveth men from wrath, and not from sin: "For the wages of sin is death," in whose heart soever it liveth; but the gift of God is eternal life, to all that believe and obey, through Jesus Christ.

8. We do believe, that all true ministry and worship only stand in the experimental sense, operations and leadings of this holy light, spirit, or grace, that is shed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal. This was the ancient, apostolical doctrine; they spoke what they had seen, tasted and handled of the word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine, and practice in this day.

And be not displeased with us, O king, we intreat thee, if we give this for the reason of our absenting ourselves from the publick and common ministry or worship; namely, that we have no taste or relish, no sense or evidence, that their ministry or worship are authorized and performed by the apostolical power and Spirit of Jesus; but rather that they are the inventions, studies and powers of man's nature: all which are but strange fire, and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.

For it is not man's spirit and degenerate nature speaking and professing the words of God's Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or administreth heavenly edification to men. Nor can we believe, that where envy, passion, wrath, malice, persecution, envy, and strife, lusts, vanity, wantonness, and worldly-mindedness have such a sway and power, that the true Christian spirit, life, and doctrine can be heartily received and followed.

And as this is the reason, in the sight and presence of that God that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and the dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and publick worship of these parts; so doth the same light and Spirit of God lay an holy necessity upon us, with a meek and quiet spirit, to come together after the manner of the ancient
Christians,

Christians, that were the true followers of Jesus; and with godly fear, and a retired mind, to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life, that he hath writ in our hearts, according to his new-covenant promise: that he may feed us, teach us, strengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And as by this holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admonish, praise, or pray, we are found exercised in these holy practices.

Now, O prince! Give us, poor Christians, leave to expostulate with thee: Did Christ Jesus, or his holy followers, endeavour by precept or example to set up their religion with a carnal sword? Called he any troops of men or angels to defend him? Did he encourage Peter to dispute his escape with the sword? But did he not say, "Put it up?" Or did he countenance his over-zealous disciples, when they would have had fire from heaven to destroy those that were not of their mind? No: but did not Christ rebuke them, saying, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of?" And if it was neither Christ's Spirit, nor their own spirit that would have fire from heaven, Oh! what is that spirit that would kindle fire on earth, to destroy such as peaceably dissent upon the account of conscience? If we may not wish that God would smite men of other judgments, because they differ from us, (in which there is no use of carnal weapons) can we so far deceive ourselves, as to esteem ourselves Christians, and followers of Christ, whilst we encourage men with worldly weapons to persecute such as dissent from us?

O king! When did the true religion persecute? When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs and staves, and swords and prisons, and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man? When did violence ever make a true convert,

or bodily punishment a sincere Christian? This maketh void the end of Christ's coming, which is to *save* mens lives, and not to *destroy* them; to *persuade* them, and not to *force* them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to "*convince* the world:" that is the sword by which the ancient Christians overcame. It was the apostles testimony, that their weapons were not carnal, but spiritual: but the practice of their pretended successors proveth, that their weapons are not spiritual, but carnal.

Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up, for Christ's sake, who saith, "Let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harvest;" that is, "until the end of the world." Let God have his due, as well as Cæsar; the judgment of conscience belongeth to him; and mistakes about religion are best known to him.

And here give us leave to mind thee of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen king of Poland: 'I am king of men, not of consciences; king of bodies, not of souls:' and there have been found, and still are, among the emperors, kings, princes, and states of the world, some that have had that noble spirit of indulging their conscientious dissenting subjects; and not only, with Gamaliel and Gallio, not to persecute, but also eminently to protect and defend them from the hatred and violence of their enemies, Be not thou less noble than they: consider how quietly and comfortably our friends live under other governments.

And indeed we conceive it to be the prudence of the kings and states of the world; for, if the wise man saith true, "The glory of a prince is in the multitude of his people:" but this practice saith, 'No; the glory of a prince is in the conformity of the people to the canons of the clergy;' which seemeth to strike at all civil society, which consisteth in men of virtue, parts, arts, and industry. But let men have never such excellent abilities, be never so honest, peaceable, and industrious, all which render them
good

good and profitable subjects to the prince, yet they must not live within their native country, unless they will sacrifice the peace of their consciences, by an hypocritical submission to the canons and fashions of the church. Is not this, O prince! to set the church above the state? The bishop above the king? To waste and give away the strength and glory of a kingdom?

O that thou mayest be wise, even in thy generation, and use the power that God has given thee, for God, and truth, and righteousness; that therein thou mayest be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, "accepteth
" of all that fear him, and work righteousness,
" throughout the world: whose sun shineth upon all,
" whose rain cometh upon all."

And lest any should be so injurious to us, as to render us enemies to civil government; be it known unto thee, O king! that we honour all men in the Lord, not with the vain invented honours of this world, but with the true and solid honour that cometh from above; but much more kings, and those whom God hath placed in authority over us: for we believe magistracy to be both lawful and useful, for the terrifying of evil-doers, and the praise and encouragement of those that do well.

The premises duly considered, we intreat thee, O prince! to take our suffering case into thy serious regard; and, by that power and influence thou hast with the magistrates of this city, to recommend our suffering condition to their serious consideration; that we may no longer lie under these not only unchristian, but unnatural severities, but receive that speedy and effectual relief which becometh Christian magistrates to give to their own sober and Christian people.

The first day of the week being come,* the meeting began about the eleventh hour, and held till about the fourth hour in the afternoon. There was a mighty concourse of people from several places of this coun-

try, and that of several persuasions, Baptists, Presbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, &c. and God was with his people, and his word of life and power, of wisdom and strength, covered them; yea, the hidden things both of Esau and Jacob, the mystery both of iniquity and godliness, were opened and declared in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit that day. And, Oh! blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord, that hath not only not left himself, but also not his servants, without a witness! Oh! he is worthy to be loved, and feared, and obeyed, and revered for ever.

The next day[†] G. K. R. B. B. F. and myself, having taken our leave of dear G. F. and friends, took boat for Naerden, where we arrived about the second hour in the afternoon.

And after having eaten, we took our leave of those friends that had accompanied us thither, and began our journey in the common post-waggon to Osnabrug, where we came the fourth day following in the evening.[‡]

We passed through a very dark country to that place; yet I felt not so great a weight and suffering in spirit as six years ago, when I went through the same places.

At Osnabrug we had a little time with the man of the inn, where we lay; and left him several good books of friends, in the Low and High Dutch tongues, to read and dispose of.

The next morning, being the fifth day of the week, we set forward to Herwerden, and came thither at night. This is the city where the princess Elizabeth Palatine hath her court; whom, and the countess in company with her, it was especially upon us to visit, and that upon several accounts:

1. In that they are persons seeking after the best things.

† 6. 6. 2. ‡ 8. 6. 4. § 9. 6. 5.

2. That

2. That they are actually lovers and favourers of those, that separate themselves from the world for the sake of righteousness.

For the princess is not only a private supporter of such, but gave protection to De Labadie himself, and his company; yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers about seven years since.

This man was a Frenchman, who being dissatisfied with the looseness and deadness of the French Protestants, even at Geneva itself, left them, and came for Holland; and so vehemently declaimed against the apostacy of the priests and people there, that the clergy were enraged, and stirred up the magistrates against him; and the rather, because many followed him, and several women of great quality. Upon this the princess gave them an invitation, and they came, and were protected by her. But since, some miscarriages falling out in that place, she thereupon in good measure withdrew her favour from them, and they removed into another place.

I was moved to visit this man and his company six years ago, and did see him, and his two great disciples; but they would not suffer me to see the people, which I laboured for. I in that day saw the airiness and unstableness of the man's spirit; and that a *sect-master* was his name: and it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing, to let them know that the enemy would prevail against them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be stayed in the *light* of *Jesus Christ*, and to know the *holy silence*; and that at last they would come to fall out one with another, and moulder away: which is in some measure come to pass, as I feared; for I clearly perceived, that though they had received some divine touches, a danger there was they would run out with them, and spend them like prodigals; not knowing then where to stay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were something angelical, and like to the celestial bodies, yet if they kept not their station, they would prove fallen stars. They
moved

moved not in the motion of him that had visited them, but were filled with gross mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixed births; that is to say, things not natural, but monstrous. In fine, they were shy of us, they knew us not: yet I believed well of some of the people, for a good thing was stirring in them.

And in this also was the countess commendable, in that she left all, to have joined with a people that had a pretence, at least, to more spirituality and self-denial, than was found in the national religion she was bred up in: for God had reached her, as she told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way.

Now it seemed great pity to us, that persons of their quality in the world should so willingly expose themselves for the *false* Quaker, the reprobate *silver*, the *mixtures*, and that they should not be acquainted with the life and testimony of the *true* Quakers.

About a year since, R. B. and B. F. took that city, in the way from Frederickstadt to Amsterdam, and gave them a visit; in which they informed them somewhat of friends principles, and recommended the testimony of truth to them, as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmost of De Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, Gertruydt Diricks and Elizabeth Hendricks from Amsterdam visited them, and obtained a meeting with them; improving that little way, which God by his providence had made, more closely to press the testimony. And though they, especially the countess, made some objections, in relation to the ordinances, and certain practices of friends, yet she seemed to receive at that time satisfaction from them.

These visits have occasioned a correspondence by way of letter betwixt them and several of us, wherein the "mystery of truth" hath been more clearly opened to their understandings; and they have been brought nearer into a waiting frame, by those heavenly

venly directions they have frequently received by way of epistles from several of us.

In answer to two of mine, the princefs sent me the following letter; which being short, I insert it here.

Herford, May 2, 1677.

THIS, friend, will tell you, that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples, is not so much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the duchess of L. as I have expressed at the same time unto B. F. But since R. B. desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

Your affectionate friend,
Elizabeth.

This digression from the present history I thought not altogether unnecessary, or displeasing.

But to return: Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to understand it, desiring to know what time next day would be most proper for us to visit her. She sent us word, 'She was glad that we were come, and should be ready to receive us the next morning about the seventh hour.'

The next morning being come,* (which was the sixth day of the week) we went about the time she had appointed us, and found both her and the counsellors ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary expression of kindness. I can truly say it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and re-

verently affected with the sense that was upon my spirit of the great and notable day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his eternal power upon all nations; and of the raising of the slain witnesses to judge the world; who is the treasure of life and peace, of wisdom and glory, to all that receive him in the hour of his judgments, and abide with him. The sense of this deep and sure foundation which God is laying, as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon, filled my soul with an holy testimony to them; which, in a living sense, was followed by my brethren: and so the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The princess intreated us to stay and dine with her; but, with due regard both to our testimony and to her, at that time we refused it; desiring, if she pleased, another opportunity that day: which she with all cheerfulness yielded to; she herself appointing the second hour. So we went to our quarters, and some time after we had dined, we returned.

The meeting soon began; there were several present, besides the princess and countess. It was at this meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal word shewed itself a hammer at this day; yea, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the Lord; it amazed one, struck another, broke another: yea, the noble arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us also after an unusual and extraordinary manner; that the Lord might work an heavenly sign before them and among them; that the Majesty of him that is risen among the poor Quakers might in some measure be known unto them; what God it is we serve, and what power it is we wait for and bow before. Yea, they had a sense and a discovery that day, what would become of the glory of all flesh, when God shall enter into judgment. Well! let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall
forget

forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God to us his travelling servants that day. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth, that all nations may behold thy glory.

Thus continued the meeting till about the seventh hour: which done, with hearts and souls filled with holy thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodness to us, we departed to our lodging; desiring to know, whether our coming the next day might not be uneasy or unreasonable to her, with respect to the affairs of her government; it being the last day of the week, when, we were informed, she was most frequently attended with addresses from her people. But with a loving and ready mind she replied, 'That she should be glad to see us the next morning, and at any time when we would.'

The next morning* (being the seventh day) we were there betwixt eight and nine; where R. B. falling into some discourse with the princefs, the countefs took hold of the opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior servants of the house, who would have been bashful to have presented themselves before the princefs. And blessed be the Lord, he was not wanting to us: but the same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree: and we were all sweetly tendered and broken together, for "Virtue went forth of Jesus that day," and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet savour; for which their souls bowed before the Lord, and confessed to our testimony. Which did not a little please that noble young woman, to find her own report of us, and her great care of them, so effectually answered. Oh! what shall we say? Is there any God like to our God, who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders? To his eternal name, power and arm be the glory for ever!

The meeting done, the princess came to us, expressing much satisfaction that we had that good opportunity with her servants; telling us she much desired they should have a true and right character of us, and that therefore she chose to withdraw, that they might have freer access, and that it might look like their own act; or words to that purpose.

The twelfth hour being come, we returned to our inn, letting them understand, we purposed (the Lord willing) to visit them some time of that afternoon.

I must not here forget, that we found at our inn, the first night at supper, a young merchant, of a sweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen, who took occasion from that night's discourse, the sixth day at dinner and supper, and the seventh day also, to seek all opportunities of conference with us; and, as we have reason to believe, he stayed twenty-four hours in that city on our account. We opened to him the testimony of truth: I know not that in any one thing he contradicted us. At last, he plainly discovered himself unto us to be a follower of a certain minister in Bremen, that is, even by his fellow-ministers and Protestants, reproached with the name of *Quaker*, because of his singular sharpness against the formal lifeless ministers and Christians in the world.

We laid fast hold upon this, and asked him, in case any of us should visit that city, if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his house? Which he readily granted us. So we gave him some books, recommending him to the true and blessed testimony of Christ Jesus, the Light and Judge of the world, and life of them that receive him, and believe in him; and so we parted.

It being now about three in the afternoon, we went to the princess's; where being come, after some little time, the princess and countess put me in remembrance of a promise I made them in one of my letters out of England, namely, that I would give them an account (at some convenient time) of my first con-
vincement

vincement, and of those tribulations and consolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom, which God had brought me to.

After some pause, I found myself very free, and prepared in the Lord's love and fear to comply with their request; and so, after some silence, began. But before I had half done, it was supper-time, and the princess would by no means let us go, we must sup with her: which importunity not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and sat down with her to supper.

Among the rest present at these opportunities, it must not be forgotten that there was a countess, sister to the countess, then come in to visit her, and a Frenchwoman of quality; the first behaving herself very decently, and the last often deeply broken; and from a light and slighting carriage towards the very name of a *Quaker*, she became very intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the princess's chamber; where making us all to sit down with her, she, with both the countesses and the Frenchwoman, pressed from me the continuance of my relation; but none more than the countess's sister. Which, though late, I was not unwilling to oblige them with, because I knew not when the Lord would give me such an opportunity.

And I found them affected: it continued till about ten at night; yet many particulars omitted, partly through forgetfulness, and partly for want of time. Howbeit, I must needs say, they heard me with an earnest and tender attention; and I hope and believe, the Lord hath made it profitable unto them.

This done, some discourse they had upon it, and afterwards we spoke about a meeting for the next day, being the first day of the week; and that we might have not only as many of her own family, but as many of her town as would willingly be there: she yielded to it, and appointed the meeting to begin at the second hour. So we parted, being near the eleventh hour at night.

The next morning* we had a meeting among ourselves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreshed us: and there was a great travail upon our spirits, that the Lord would stand by us that day, and magnify the testimony of his own truth by us; that he might have a seed and people in that place, to lift up a standard for his name.

At dinner there were several strangers, that came by the post-waggon that day: among whom there was a young man of Bremen, being a student at the college at Dyuysburgh, who informed us of a sober and seeking man of great note in the city of Dyuysburgh; to him we gave some books. There was one more who was tender and inquiring, to whom also we gave some books.

The second hour being at hand, we went to the meeting; where were several as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own power he made way to their consciences, and sounded his wakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there is none like unto him. Oh! the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the searching life of Jesus was in the midst of us! Oh! the word, that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way, and unsealed the book of life: yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached to them: and virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the pure frankincense; yea, than the sweet-smelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended: blessed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God for ever!

As soon as the meeting was done, the princess came to me, and took me by the hand (which she

usually did to us all, coming and going) and went to speak to me of the sense she had of that power and presence of God that was amongst us, but was stopped. And turning herself to the window, brake forth in an extraordinary passion, crying out, 'I cannot speak to you; my heart is full;' clapping her hands upon her breast.

It melted me into a deep and calm tenderness, in which I was moved to minister a few words softly to her, and after some time of silence she recovered herself; and as I was taking my leave of her, she interrupted me thus: 'Will ye not come hither again? Pray, call here as ye return out of Germany.' I told her, we were in the hand of the Lord; and being his, could not dispose of ourselves. But the Lord had taken care that we should not forget her, and those with her: for he had raised and begotten an heavenly concernment in our souls for her and them; and we loved them all with that love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that purpose.

She then turned to the rest of the friends, and would have had us all gone to supper with her. But we chose rather to be excused; we should eat a bit of her bread, and drink a glass of her wine if she pleased, in the chamber where we were. At last we prevailed with her to leave us.

The countess, the Frenchwoman, and the countess's waiting-woman, stayed with us, and we had a very retired and seasonable opportunity with them.

After the princess had supped, we went all down, and took our solemn leave of her, the countess, her sister, the Frenchwoman, with the rest of the family, whose hearts were reached and opened by our testimonies; recommending unto them holy silence from all will-worship, and the workings, strivings, and images of their own mind and spirit: that Jesus might be felt of them in their hearts, his holy teachings witnessed, and followed in the way of his blessed cross, that would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them: that their faith, hope, and joy might

stand in Christ in them, the heavenly Prophet, Shepherd, and Bishop; whose voice all that are truly sheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any stranger whatever.

So we left them in the love and peace of God, praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world. We returned to our lodging, having our hearts filled with a weighty sense of the Lord's appearance with us in that place; and being late (towards the ninth hour) we prepared to go to rest.

The next morning* (being the second day of the week) G. K. B. F. and myself, got ready to begin our journey towards Franckfort; which, by the way of Cassel, is about two hundred English miles. R. B. prepared himself to return by the way we came, directly to Amsterdam. But before we parted, we had a little time together in the morning in our chamber, whither came one of the princess's family, and one of the town. The Lord moved me to call upon his great name, that he would be with them that stayed, and with them that returned also, and with us that went forward in wild and untrodden places. And his blessed love and life overshadowed us: yea, he filled our cup together, and made us drink into one spirit, even the cup of blessings, in the fellowship of the everlasting feed; in which we took leave of one another.

And after having eaten, it being about the seventh hour, we departed the city.

We came to Paderborn that night, six German miles, which are about thirty-six English: it is a dark Popish town, and under the government of a bishop of that religion. Howbeit, the woman where we lodged was an ancient, grave, and serious person, to whom we declared the testimony of the *light*, shewing her the difference betwixt an outside and an inside religion, which she received with much kindness. We left some books with her, which she took readily.

There was also with us at supper a Lutheran, that was a lawyer, with whom I had very good service, in opening to him the great loss of the power of godliness, as well among them who separated from Rome, as in the Roman church; which he confessed. I directed him to the principle of light in his conscience, that let him see the lifeless state of the false Christians; and if he turned his mind to that principle, and waited there for power, he would receive power to rule and govern himself according to true godliness; and that it was the loss of Christendom that they went from this principle, in which the power standeth, that conformeth the soul to the image and likeness of the dear Son of God; and thither they must come again, if ever they will have the true knowledge of God, and enjoy life and salvation; with much more to that purpose; all which he received lovingly.

The next morning* we set forwards toward Cassel; but through great foulness of weather, having only naked carts to ride in, the waters being also high with the rains, we got not to Cassel till the next day,^y which was the fourth day of the week. It being late, we made little enquiry that night, being also wearied with the foulness of the ways and weather.

But the next day^z we made our usual enquiry, viz. Who was worthy in the city? And found some that tenderly and lovingly received us, to whom we declared the visitation of the light and love of God. Among the rest, was Dureus, our countryman, a man of seventy-seven years of age, who had learned in good measure to forget his learning, school-divinity, and priest's craft; and for his approaches towards an inward principle, is reproachfully saluted by some with the honest title of *Quaker*. It is much better than Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist, who are not only ignorant of, but enemies to, quaking and trembling at the word of the Lord, as Moses and others did.

* 14. 6. 3.

^y 15. 6. 4.^z 16. 6. 5.

Upon the sixth day of the same week about noon,^a we set out towards Franckfort, having left several books behind us; which hath been our practice in our journey.

At Franckfort we arrived the second day about noon,^b being just a week from Herwerden; and having from thence and Cassel made known our intentions of coming to that city, two considerable persons came and met us about half a German mile from the city, informing us of several well-affected in that town. Upon which we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon; which we easily obtained at the house of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The persons that resorted thither, were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans; and we can say, they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that he would prosper his work in our hands.

This engaged our hearts to make some longer stay in this city: we therefore desired another meeting the next day,^c which they cheerfully assented to, where several came that were not with us the day before, and the Lord that sent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, insomuch that they confessed to the truth of our testimony.

Of these persons there were two women, one a virgin, the other a widow, both noble of birth, who had a deep sense of that power and presence of God that accompanied our testimony, and their hearts yearned strongly towards us; the virgin giving us a particular invitation to her house the next morning,^d where we had the most blessed opportunity of the three, for the Lord's power so eminently appeared, that not only those that had been with us before were most effectually reached, but a certain student residing in the

^a 17. 6. 6.^b 20. 6. 2.^c 21. 6. 3.^d 22. 6. 4.

house

house of a Lutheran minister, sent for by that young woman, was broken to pieces, and magnified that blessed power which appeared. Also there accidentally came in a doctor of physick, who unexpectedly was affected, and confessed to the truth, praying God to prosper us. This was the blessed issue of our visit to Franckfort.

But there is one thing more, not unfit to be mentioned: among some of those that have inclinations after God, a fearful spirit, together with the shame of the cross, hath entered; against which our testimony in part striking, we took notice it was a life to these noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppressed them, and obstructed the work of the Lord amongst them. 'Therefore,' said the young virgin, 'our quarters are free for you, let all come that will come, and lift up your voices without fear; for,' said she, 'it will never be well with us till persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the stadthouse; that is, the prison.'

We left the peace of Jesus with them, and the same afternoon we departed out of that city, being the fourth day of the week.

Here I writ an epistle to the churches of Jesus.

To the churches of Jesus throughout the world, gathered and settled in his eternal light, power, and spirit, to be one holy flock, family, and household to the Lord, &c.

Dear friends and brethren,

WHO have been visited with the fatherly visitation from on high, and have received God's eternal word and testament in your hearts, by which you have been gathered home to Christ Jesus, the true Shepherd, from all the idol shepherds, and their barren mountains, and unprofitable hills, where you have been scattered in the dark and gloomy day of apos-

tacy; and by his light, spirit, and power, have been convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment, and can say, 'The prince of this world is judged, by his
' holy, righteous, and powerful appearance in you,
' unto whom all judgment in heaven and earth is
' committed; who is the blessed Lamb of God, the
' Light and Saviour of the world; who is King of
' Salem, and Prince of peace:' my soul loves you with everlasting love; even with the love with which my God, and your God, my Father, and your Father, hath loved me, and visited my soul, and your souls; in this do I dearly salute and embrace you all, in this the day of the fulfilling of his glorious promises to his church in the wilderness, and witnesses in sackcloth.

And, O magnified be his name, and everlastingly praised and renowned be his holy power and arm, by which he hath reached unto us, and brought salvation near us! For he hath found us out, and hath heard our solitary cries, the deep and mournful supplications of our bowed spirits, when we were as the little silly dove without its mate, and the lonely pelican in the wilderness; when we were ready to cry out, 'Is there
' none to save? Is there none to help? O when shall
' the time and times, and half a time be finished?
' When shall the one thousand two hundred and sixty
' days be accomplished? And when shall the abomi-
' nation, that stands in the holy place, be cast out?
' When shall the captivity of the people be turned
' back? O when shall Babylon come into remem-
' brance before God; the dragon, beast, and false
' prophet be cast into the lake? And when shall the
' law go forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord
' out of Jerusalem? When shall Sion become the joy,
' and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth? And
' when shall the earth be covered with the knowledge
' of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea?'

Friends, The Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries; and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wise many
a time;

a time: "Awake, thou that sleepest, and I will give thee life: arise out of the dust, and shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." And the Lord God hath given us that light by which we have comprehended the darkness in ourselves and in the world: and as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil one in all his appearances in ourselves, and faithfully and boldly to testify against him in the world: and the blood of Jesus, in this holy way of the light, have we felt in our souls to cleanse us from unrighteousness, and give us to know the mystery of the fellowship of the gospel one with another, which stands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy household and family unto God, that live in his presence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his redeemed and ransomed children by the most precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

And, friends, let it never pass out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, since he hath made us a people: hath any weapon formed against us prospered? Hath he called us, and not protected us? Hath he given power to conceive, and not to bring forth? Hath he not sheltered us in many a storm? Did he ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men? Nay, hath he not spoken peace to us? Were we ever cast out by men, and he forsook us? No, the Lord hath taken us up: were we ever in prison, and he visited us not? Hungry, and he fed us not? Naked, and he clothed us not? Or have we been sick, and he came not to see us? When were the jails so close, that he could not come in, and the dungeons so dark, that he caused not his light to shine upon us? O nay; he hath never left us, nor forsaken us; yea, he hath provided richly for us; he hath brought us into the wilderness, not to starve us, but to try us; yet not above our measure: for he fed us with manna from on high; with pure honey and water out of the rock, and gave his good Spirit to sustain
us:

us: by night he was a pillar of fire to us, to comfort us; and by day a pillar of cloud, to hide and shelter us. He was a shadow of a mighty rock that followed us; and we never wanted a brook by the way to refresh us. Was God good to Israel outward? Much more hath he abounded to his spiritual Israel, the proper seed and offspring of himself. O the noble deeds and valiant acts, that he hath wrought in our day for our deliverance! He hath caused one to chase ten, and ten an hundred, and an hundred a thousand, many a time. None hath been able to snatch us out of his hands, who abode in his truth. For though the winds have blown, and the sea hath raged, yet hath he rebuked the winds and the sea for his seed's sake: he hath said to the winds, "Be still;" and to the sea, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." He hath cast up an highway for his ransomed to walk in, so plain, that though a fool he shall not err therein. This is the light, in which all nations of them that are saved must walk for ever.

And therefore, friends, let us stay our minds in the light of the Lord for ever; and let the awe, fear, and dread of the Almighty dwell in us; and let his holy Spirit be known to be a covering to us, that from the spirit of this world we may be chastely kept and preserved unto God, in the holy light, and self-denying life of Jesus, who hath offered himself up once for all, leaving us an example that we should also follow his steps; that as he, our dear Lord and Master, so we, his servants and friends, and children, might, by the eternal Spirit, offer up ourselves to God, in body, in soul, and in spirit, which are his; that we may be his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, to the praise of him that hath called us; which calling is an high and an holy calling, by the eternal light and spirit in our consciences. O that it might for ever remain in high estimation with us! And that it may be the daily watch and travail of us all, in the presence of the holy and living God, that hath called us, to make our great call and election sure; which
many

many having neglected to do, (who have been convinced by the blessed light and truth of Christ Jesus revealed in their hearts, and who for a time have walked among us) have been overcome by the spirit of this world, and turned their hands from the plough, and deserted the camp of the Lord, and gone back into Egypt again; whereby the heathen have blasphemed, and the way and people of the Lord greatly have suffered.

Therefore, O my dear friends and brethren, in the sense of that life and power, that God from heaven so gloriously hath dispensed among us, and by which he hath given us multiplied assurances of his loving-kindness unto us, and crowned us together with heavenly dominion, and in which my spirit is at this time broken before the Lord; do I most earnestly intreat you to watch continually, lest any of you, that have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall by temptation; and by carelessness and neglect tempt the living God to withdraw his fatherly visitation from any of you, and finally to desert such: for the Lord our God is a jealous God, and he will not give his glory unto another. He hath given to man *all* but man himself, and *him* he hath reserved for his own peculiar service, to build him up a glorious temple to himself; so that we are bought with a price, and we are not our own.

Therefore let us continually watch, and stand in awe, that we grieve not his holy Spirit, nor turn his grace into wantonness; but, all of us, let us wait, and that in an holy travail of spirit, to know ourselves sealed by the "Spirit of adoption," unto the day of our complete redemption; when not only all our sins, but all sorrows, sighings, and tears, shall be wiped away from our eyes; and everlasting songs of joy and thanksgiving shall melodiously fill our hearts to God, that sits upon the throne, and to his blessed immaculate Lamb, who by his most precious blood shall have completely redeemed us from the earth, and written our names in the book of life.

Friends,

Friends, The Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my remembrance, since I have been in this desolate land; and with joy unutterable have I had sweet and precious fellowship with you in the faith of Jesus, that overcometh the world: for, though absent in body, yet present in him that is Omnipresent. And I can truly say, you are very near and very dear to me; and the love that God hath raised in my heart unto you, surpassest the love of women; and our testimony, I am well satisfied, is sealed up together. And I am well assured, that all that love the light shall endure to the end throughout all tribulations, and in the end obtain eternal salvation.

And now, friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and solitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often presented unto my view, and the day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my soul and spirit hath frequently been possessed with an holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the spreading of his everlasting truth, and the prosperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may look to him, and may know Christ, the *light*, to be given to them for their salvation. And when the sense of these things hath been deeply upon me, an holy and strong cry God hath raised in my soul to him, ‘That we, who
 ‘ have known this fatherly visitation from on high,
 ‘ and who have beheld the day of the Lord, the rising
 ‘ of the Sun of Righteousness, who is full of grace,
 ‘ and full of truth, and have beheld his glory, and
 ‘ confessed it to be the glory of the only-begotten
 ‘ Son of God; and who, by obedience to his appear-
 ‘ ance, are become the children of light, and of the
 ‘ day, and as the first-fruits to God, after this long
 ‘ night of apostacy, might for ever walk and dwell in
 ‘ his holy covenant, Christ Jesus, the light of the
 ‘ world; because in him we have always peace, but
 ‘ out of him comes all the trouble.’

And whilst this heavenly sense rested with me, the Lord God, that made me, and called me by his grace
 unto

unto salvation, laid it upon me to visit you in an holy exhortation. And it is the exhortation of my life at this time, in the earnest and fervent motion of the power and spirit of Jesus, to beseech you all, who are turned to the light of Christ, that shineth in your hearts, and believe in it; that you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the same dread, awe, and fear, in which you began; that the holy poverty of spirit, that is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your first love, may dwell and rest with you; that you may daily feel the same heavenly hunger and thirst, the same lowliness and humility of mind, the same zeal and tenderness, and the same sincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treasure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and spirit of this world: that your Alpha may be your Omega, and your author your finisher, and your *first* love your *last* love; that so none may make shipwreck of faith, and of a good conscience, nor faint by the way. And as in this state we are kept in holy watchfulness to God, as in the beginning, the table which our heavenly Father spreads, and the blessing with which he compasseth us about, shall not become a snare unto us, nor shall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonness; but we shall eat and drink in an holy fear, apparel ourselves in fear, buy and sell in fear, visit one another in fear; keep meetings, and there wait upon the Lord in fear: yea, whatsoever we take in hand to do, it shall be in the holy fear of God, and with an holy tenderness of his glory, and regard to the prosperity of his truth: yea, we shall deny ourselves not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are even lawful to us, for the sake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

For, my friends and brethren, God hath laid upon us, whom he hath honoured with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age, and of the ages to come; that they may walk, as they have us for examples: yea, the Lord God hath chosen

chosen you to place his name in you; the Lord hath intrusted you with his glory, that you might hold it forth to all nations; and that the generations unborn may call you blessed.

Therefore, let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him evil for good; nor betray his cause directly by wilful wickedness, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulness: but be zealous and valiant for truth on earth; let none be slothful or careless: O remember the slothful servant's state. And let the loving-kindness of the Lord overcome every soul to faithfulness; for with him are riches and honour, and every good thing: and whither should any go? He hath the words of eternal life. O let none lose their testimony, but hold it up for God. Let thy gift be never so small, thy testimony never so little, through thy whole conversation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of: and wait all upon the Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly testimony; that life may fill your hearts, your houses, and your meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do, the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven.

And, O! that the cross of Jesus may be in high and honourable esteem with every one; that the liberty of all may stand in the cross, which alone preserveth: for it is the power of God, that crucifieth us to the world, and the world to us. And through death, way is made unto life and immortality; which by this blessed cross, the gospel, the power, is brought to light. So shall the life that God hath sown in our hearts, grow; and in that seed shall we all come to be blessed, unto whom God hath appointed the dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the holy government of it; for the ways of it are the ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace; and all that are born of it, can say, "Thy sceptre is a sceptre of righteousness." And, Oh! that all friends, every where, may continually bow unto his righteous sceptre, and keep to his holy law, which is

written

written in their hearts; that it may be a light to their feet, and a lanthorn to their paths. So shall they come to witness that holy promise made good unto them, "The Spirit, which I have given unto him, the seed; and the words which I have put into his mouth, shall not depart from him, nor from his seed, nor from his seed's seed unto all generations."

Wherefore, friends, redeem the time, because the days are evil; God hath given you to see they are so; and be ye separated more and more, yea, perfectly disentangled from the cares of this world. And be ye not cumbered with the many things; but stand loose from the things that are seen, which are temporal.

And you that are poor, murmur not; but be patient, and trust in the Lord, and submit to his providence, and he will provide for you that which is convenient for you, the days of your appointed time. And you that are rich, keep in the moderation, and strive not to multiply earthly treasure, nor to heap up uncertain riches to yourselves; but what God hath given you more than what is convenient for your own use, wait for his wisdom, to employ it for his glory; that you may be faithful stewards of this world's mammon; and the Lord God shall reward you in your bosoms, of the riches of that kingdom that shall never have an end.

O my friends and brethren, whether rich or poor, in bonds or at liberty, in whatsoever state you are, the salutation of the universal life of Jesus is to you: and the exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you; and in the light, by which ye have received in measure the knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the farther revelation of the mind and will of God unto you, that ye may be endued from on high with power and might in your inward man, to answer the call and requirings of the Lord; that

ye may be enabled to make known to the nations, what is the riches of the glory of this blessed mystery in the Gentiles; which is Christ Jēsus, the light of the world, in you the hope of glory. For this I have to tell you, in the vision of the Almighty, that the day of the breaking-up of the nations about you, and of the founding of the gospel trumpet unto the inhabitants of the earth, is just at the door: and they that are worthy, who have kept their habitation from the beginning, and have dwelt in the unity of the faith that overcometh the world, and have kept the bond of peace, the Lord God will empower and spirit them to go forth with his everlasting word and testament to awaken, and gather kindreds, languages, and people to the glory of the rising of the Gentiles light, who is God's salvation unto the ends of the earth.

And I must tell you, that there is a breathing, hungering, seeking people, solitarily scattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. And as the Lord hath laid it upon me, with my companions, to seek some of them out, so have we found several in divers places. And we have had many blessed opportunities amongst them, wherein our hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply sensible of the love of God towards them, and of the great openness and tenderness of spirit in them, to receive the testimony of light and life through us. And we have a stedfast belief, that the Lord will carry on his work in this land effectually; and that he will raise up those, that shall be as ministers of his eternal testament amongst them. And O! our desire is, that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful witnesses to visit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great seed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth, till the whole earth be filled with his glory.

And it is under the deep and weighty sense of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it up-
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on me to write to you, to wait for the farther pouring out of the power and spirit of the Lord; that nothing that is careless, sleepy, earthly, or exalted, may get up, whereby to displease the Lord, and cause him to withdraw his sweet and preserving presence from any that know him. But let all keep the King of righteousness his peace, and walk in the steps of the flocks of the companions: for withering and destruction shall come upon all such as desert the camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring spirit disquiet the heritage of God; for they are greater enemies to Sion's glory, and Jerusalem's peace, than the open armies of the aliens.

And it is a warning to all, that make mention of the name of the Lord in this dispensation he hath brought us to, that they have a care how they let out their minds in any wise to please the lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life; which are not of the Father, but of this world; lest any be exalted in a liberty, that maketh the cross of Jesus of none effect, and the offence thereof to cease: for such will become as salt that hath lost its savour, and at last will be trod under the feet of God and men. For the Lord will withdraw his daily presence, and the fountain will come to be sealed up, and the well of salvation be stopped again.

Therefore, as all would rejoice in the joy of God's salvation, let them wait for the saving power, and dwell in it; that knowing the mystery of the work of regeneration, Christ formed in them, the hope of their glory, they may be able, in the motion of him that hath begotten them through death to life, to go forth and declare the way of life and salvation.

And all you that are young-convinced of the eternal truth, come into it, and then you will feel the virtue of it, and so you will be witnesses; otherwise "vain talkers, wells without water, clouds without rain; for which state is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever."

Wherefore gird up the loins of your minds, and be sober, and tempt not God; but receive the day of your visitation, and walk worthy of so great a love, and delight to retain God in your knowledge; and grieve not his holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that it may be an earnest to you of an eternal inheritance.

And take up your daily cross, and follow Christ, and not the spirit of this world. He was meek and lowly, he was humble and plain; he was few in words, but mighty in deeds; he loved not his life unto death, even the reproachful death of the cross; but laid down his life, and became of no reputation, and that for the rebellious. "O the height, and the depth, the length, and the breadth, yea, the unfathomableness of the love of God in Christ Jesus!"

Wherefore, while it is to-day, hearken to his voice, and harden not your hearts: and make no bargains for yourselves, neither consult with flesh and blood; but let the Lord be your light, and your salvation: let him be the strength of your life, and the length of your days. And this know assuredly, that none ever trusted to the Lord, and were confounded.

Wherefore hold up your testimony for God, as you would enjoy the increasings of his life and love: and let your light shine, and confess him before the whole world. Smother not his appearance, neither hide thy candle, God hath lighted in thee, under a bushel; for Christ walketh among his candlesticks of pure and tried gold. Wherefore set thy light upon a candlestick, and shew forth thy good conversation in meekness and godly fear, that thou mayest become a good example; and others, beholding thy good works, may glorify God. But for the rebellious, the fearful, and the unbelieving, the day hastens upon such, that the things that belong to their eternal peace shall be hid from their eyes for ever.

And all you, my dear friends and brethren, who are in sufferings for the testimony of Jesus, and a good conscience; look up to Jesus, the Author and Finisher
of

of your faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place; into which, if you faint not, you shall all be received, after the days of your pilgrimage shall be at an end, with a "Well done, good and faithful servant."

And though these afflictions seem not joyous, but grievous for the present, yet a far more exceeding weight of glory stands at the door. Wherefore count it all joy when you fall into these trials, and persevere to the end, knowing that he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry, and that his reward is with him. Remember the martyrs of Jesus, that loved not their lives to the death for his name's sake that called them. And Jesus himself, that made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, who hath consecrated through his blood a new and living way for all that come unto God by him, who is made an high priest, higher than the heavens, one that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved with our weakness and infirmity, that through him we may be made strong in the Lord, and more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.

Wherefore let it not seem as if some strange thing had happened to you; for all these things are for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than the gold that perisheth. It is the old quarrel, children of this world against the children of the Lord; those that are born after the flesh, warring against those that are born after the Spirit: Cain against Abel, the old world against Noah; Sodomites against Lot; Hagar against Sarah; Ishmael against Isaac; Esau against Jacob; Egyptians against Israelites; the false prophets against the true prophets, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. The Jews, under the profession of the letter of the law, against Christ, that came to fulfil the law, and all his spiritual followers and disciples: and all the false apostate Christians against the true and spiritual Christians and martyrs of Jesus.

So, your conflict is for the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus, against those that profess him in words, but in works and conversation every day deny him; doing despite to the Spirit of grace in themselves, and those that are led by it. But though Gog and Magog shall gather themselves together to lay waste the city of God, yet the Lord hath determined their destruction, and he will bring it to pass.

“ Wherefore rejoice, O thou little hill of God, and
 “ clap thy hands for joy; for he that is faithful and
 “ true, just, and righteous, and able to deliver thee,
 “ dwells in the midst of thee: who will cause thee
 “ to grow and increase, till thou becomest a great
 “ mountain, till thou becomest the praise of the
 “ whole earth, and the whole earth be filled with thy
 “ glory.”

And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore; who is risen in your hearts, as a bright shining light, and is leading you out of the nature and spirit of this world, in the path of regeneration; I have this to say, by way of holy encouragement unto you all, the Lord God eternal, that was, and is, and is to come, hath reserved for you the glories of the last days: and if so be that the followers and martyrs of Jesus in ages past, when the church was going into the wilderness, and his witnesses into sackcloth, were, notwithstanding, so noble and valiant for the truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto death, and suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods for the testimony of Jesus, how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulness, who are come to the resurrection of the day which shall never more be eclipsed; in which the bridegroom is to come, to fetch you his spouse out of the wilderness, to give you beauty for ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteousness of the saints. Lean upon his breast for ever, and know your joining in an everlasting covenant with him,

him, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and delight to do you good: that in blessing he may bless you, increase you, and multiply you in all spiritual blessings now and for ever; that to God, through him, you may live all the days of your appointed time. To whom be glory and honour, praises and thanksgivings in the church throughout all ages, and for ever.

I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jesus, your friend and brother,

W. P E N N.

My companions in the labour and travail of the testimony of Jesus, salute you all in the love of our God. We have passed through several cities of Germany, and are now at Franckfort, where the Lord hath given us three blessed opportunities with a serious and seeking people; whereof, as in other places of this country, many of them are persons of great worldly quality. Blessed be the name of the Lord, to whom be glory for ever.

W. P.

Franckfort, the 22d of the
6th month, 1677.

The fifth day^f we arrived by the way of Worms at Crisheim, in the Paltzgrave's country; where we found, to our great joy, a meeting of tender and faithful people: but it seems the inspector of the Calvinists had enjoined the vaught, or chief officer, not to suffer any preaching to be amongst our friends; who, poor man, fearing the indignation of the clergy, came next day to desire friends not to suffer any preaching to be amongst them, lest he should be turned out of his place. To whom we desired friends to say, that

^f 23. 6. 5.

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if he pleased he might apprehend us, and carry us to the prince, before whom we should give an account of our testimony.

But, blessed be the Lord, we enjoyed our meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a coach-full from Worms made part, amongst whom was a governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran priests.

It came upon me in this place to salute the prince and countess with this following epistle.

A salutation to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My worthy friends,

SUCH as I have, such I give unto you, the dear and tender salutation of light, life, peace, and salvation by Jesus Christ, the blessed Lamb of God; with the unspeakable joy of which he hath so replenished my soul at this time, that my cup overfloweth; which is the reward of them that cheerfully drink his cup of tribulations, that love the cross, and triumph in all the shame, reproaches, and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand, and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration; and as you have begun to know and love his sweet and tender drawings, so resign the whole conduct of your lives to him.

Dispute not away the precious sense that you have of him, be it as small as a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds; there is a power in it (if you do but believe) to remove the greatest mountains of opposition. O precious is this faith! yea, more precious than the glory and honour of this world that perisheth. It will give courage to go with Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate; yea, to bear his cross without the camp, and to be crucified with him, knowing that the Spirit of God and of glory shall rest upon them. To the inheritors of this faith,

is reserved the eternal kingdom of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

O be you of that little flock, unto whom Jesus said, "Fear not, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:" and to be of this flock, you must become as sheep; and to be as sheep, you must become harmless; and to become harmless, you must hear and follow the Lamb of God, as he is that blessed light which discovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful works of darkness, and maketh harmless as a dove; which word, *all*, leaveth not one peccadillo, or circumstance undiscovered or unjudged; and the word *darkness* taketh in the whole night of apostacy; and the word *unfruitful*, is a plain judgment against all those dark works. Wherefore out of them all come, and be you separated; and God will give you a crown of life, which shall never fade away.

O! the lowness and meanness of those spirits, that despise or neglect the joys and glories of immortality, for the sake of the things which are seen, that are but temporal, debasing the nobility of their souls, abandoning the government of the Divine Spirit, and embracing with all ardency of affection the sensual pleasures of this life; but such as persevere therein, shall not enter into God's rest for ever.

But this is not all that hindereth and obstructeth in the holy way of blessedness; for there is the world's fear, as well as the world's joy, that obstructeth many, or else Christ had not said, "Fear not," to his little flock. The shame of the cross is a yoke too uneasy, and a burden too heavy for flesh and blood to bear, it is true; but therefore shall flesh and blood never enter into the kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the flesh, but to those that are born of the Spirit, through the word of regeneration, is appointed the kingdom, and that throne which shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and all the world. The Lord perfect what he hath begun in you, and give you dominion over the love and fear of this world.

And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, despise not the day of small things in yourselves: know this, that to desire and sincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a blessed state; you must seek before you find. Do you believe? Make not haste, extinguish not those small beginnings by an over-earnest or impatient desire of victory. God's time is the best time; be you faithful, and your conflict shall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own souls. Therefore love the judgment, and love the fire; start not aside, neither flinch from the scorplings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold seven times tried; then cometh the stamp and seal of the Lord upon his own vessel, "Holiness to him for ever;" which he never gave, nor will give, to reprobate silver, the state of the religious worshippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Sion shall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteousness; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Then shall you be able to say, "Who is he that condemneth us? God hath justified us: there is no condemnation to us that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not only not after the fleshly lusts, but also not after the fleshly religions and worships of the world: for that which is not born of the Spirit is flesh; and all flesh shall wither as the grass, and the beauty of it shall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's sun, that is risen and rising. But the word of the Lord, in which is life, and that life the light of men, shall endure for ever, and give life eternal to them that love, and wait in, the light.

And I intreat you, by the love you have for Jesus, have a care how you touch with fleshly births, or say amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit: for God is not to be found of that, in
your-

yourselves or others, that calleth him Father, and he hath never begotten it in them; that latitude and conformity is not of God, but secretly grieveth his Spirit, and obstructeth the growth of the soul in its acquaintance and intimate communion with the Lord. "Without me," saith Jesus, "you can do nothing; and all that came before me are thieves and robbers." If so, O what are they that pray, and preach, and sing without Jesus, and follow not him in those duties, but even in them crucify him? O that I may find in you an ear to hear, and an heart to perceive and embrace these truths of Jesus!

And I can say, I have great cause to hope, and patiently to wait, till the salvation of God be farther revealed to you, and the whole family; with whom, I must acknowledge, I was abundantly refreshed and comforted, in that God in measure made known the riches of his grace, and operation of his celestial power to you; and his witness shall dwell with you, if we never see you more, that God magnified his own strength in our weakness. With him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his holy Spirit of grace, that you may be conformed to the image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preserve you. O stay your minds upon him, and he will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you for ever. The Almighty take you into his holy protection now and for ever.

I am your true friend, ready to serve you, with
with fervent love, in the will of God,

W. P E N N.

My dear companions do, with me, give you the dear salutation of unfeigned love, and those in the family that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth without wavering.

P. S. We are this evening bound towards Manheim, the court of the Prince Palatine, and have travelled about twelve English miles on foot.

That

That night we lodged at Franckenthall, and got next morning,^s being the seventh day of the week, to Mannheim; but were disappointed of our design, which was to speak with the prince, for he was gone the day before to Heydelbergh, his chief city, about fifteen English miles from that place. And considering that by reason of the meeting next day with friends at Crisheim already appointed, we could neither go forward, nor stay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavoured to visit him, it was upon me to write him the following letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our end in coming.

To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heydelbergh.

GREAT PRINCE!

IT would seem strange that I, both a stranger and a subject, should use this freedom of address to a prince, were he not one whose actions shew him to be of a free disposition, and easy access to all: would to God all princes were of that mind! But I have not chosen this way of application; I am driven to it, by the disappointment thy absence from this court gave me, and the necessity I am under to expedite my return. And though I cannot so fully, and consequently not so clearly, express by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this visit, yet this being all the way that is left me, I shall declare them as well as I can.

In the first place, I do, with all sincere and Christian respect, acknowledge and commend that indulgence thou givest to all people professing religion, dissenting from the national communion: for it is in itself a most *natural*, *prudent*, and *Christian* thing.

NATURAL, because it preserves nature from being made a sacrifice to the savage fury of fallible, yet proud opinions; outlawing men of parts, arts, indus-

try, and honesty, the grand requisites of human society, and exposing them and their families to utter ruin for mere nonconformity, not to religion, but to modes and fashions in religion.

CHRISTIAN, since the contrary expressly contradicteth both the precept and example of Christ, who taught us ‘to love enemies, not to abuse our friends, ‘and triumph in the destruction of our harmless neighbours.’ He rebuked his disciples, when they called for “fire from heaven upon Dissenters,” it may be opposers: certainly, then, he never intended that they should kindle “fire upon earth to devour men for “conscience.” And if Christ, to whom all power given, and his holy apostles, refused to employ human force and artifice so much as to conserve themselves, it is an arrogancy every way indefensible in those that pretend to be their followers, that they assume an authority to supersede, controul, and contradict the precepts and examples of Christ and his apostles; whose kingdom not being of the nature of this ambitious violent world, was not erected or maintained by those weapons that are carnal, but spiritual and intellectual, adequate to the nature of the soul, and mighty through God to cast down the strong-holds of sin, and every vain imagination exalted in man above the lowly meek fear of God, that ought to have the pre-eminence in the hearts of the sons of men.

Indulgence is PRUDENT, in that it preserveth concord: no kingdom divided against itself can stand. It encourageth arts, parts, and industry, to shew and improve themselves, which indeed are the ornaments, strength, and wealth of a country: it encourageth people to transplant into this land of liberty, where the sweat of the brow is not made the forfeit of the conscience.

And, lastly, it rendereth the prince peculiarly *safe* and *great*. *Safe*, because all interests, for interest sake, are bound to love and court him. *Great*, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his clergy,

clergy, which in most countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateship in government, *imperium in imperio*, at least an eclipse to monarchy, but a superior power, and rideth the prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church: and all this villainy acted under the sacred, peaceable, and alluring name of CHRIST, his ministry and church: though as remote from their nature, as the wolf from the sheep, and the pope from Peter.

The next thing I should have taken the liberty to have discoursed, would have been this: what encouragement a colony of virtuous and industrious families might hope to receive from thee, in case they should transplant themselves into this country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting taxes, oaths, arms, &c.

Farther, to have represented the condition of some of our *friends*, and thy own subjects; who, though they are liable to the same tax as Menists, &c. (not by part the case of other dissenters) yet the vaught of the town where they live, came yesterday to forbid all preaching amongst them, which implies a sort of contradiction to the indulgence given.

And, in the last place, forasmuch as all men owe their being to something greater than themselves, to which it is reasonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow rewards or punishments;

I had an earnest desire to have spoken of the nature, truth, use, benefit, and reward of religion; and therein, as to have discoursed what is Christian religion *in it self*, freed from those unreasonable garbs some men make it to wear, so justly offensive to wise and thinking men, so to have proved the principle and life of the people in scorn called Quakers to have been suitable to the true followers of holy JESUS. But as the particulars would swell a letter to a book, I shall take
the

the freedom to present thee, upon my return, with some tracts treating upon all those subjects.

Prince! My soul is filled with love and respect to thee and thy family; I wish you all true and lasting felicity, and earnestly desire that you may never forget your afflictions; and, in the remembrance of them, be dehorted from those lusts and impieties, which draw the vengeance of heaven upon the greatest families on earth, that God may look upon you with the favourable eye of his providence. And blessed is that man, whose God, (by profession) is the LORD in reality, viz. that is ruled and governed by the Lord, and that lives in subjection to his grace; that having a divine sense of God in his heart, delights to retain that sense and knowledge of him, and be meditating in his noble royal law, that converts the soul to God, and redeems man from the sensual pleasures of this world, to the true satisfaction of the intellectual and divine life.

O the meanness and lowness of their spirits, that abandon themselves to the government of sense, the animal life; thereby debasing their natures, rejecting the divine light, that shineth in their hearts, saying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die," forgetting whence they are descended, and not considering the peace and joy of the virtuous!

I desire that the Lord would put it into thy heart to think of thy latter end; and, with the 'light of Christ in thy conscience,' examine how it stands with thy soul, that thou mayest know, and diligently watch to do, those things that belong to thy eternal peace.

One thing more give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is, to be very careful of inculcating generous, free and righteous principles into thy son, who is like to succeed thee; that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not sink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments (now thy subjects) be disappointed, distressed, or ruined.

Which,

Which, with sincere desires for thy temporal and eternal good, concludes this,

Thy unknown, but sincere friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

From Manheim, the 25th of
the 6th month, 1677.

Which being done, and having refreshed ourselves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms; from whence we the next morning, being the first day of the week,^a walked on foot to Crisheim, which is about six English miles from Worms. We had a good meeting, from the tenth till the third hour, and the Lord's power sweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town that were at the meeting; yea, the vaught, or chief officer himself, stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear, and not be seen; who went to the priest, and told him that it was his work, if we were hereticks, to discover us to be such; but for his part, he had heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the power rose in an high operation among them, and great was the love of God that rose in our hearts at the meeting to visit them; and there is a lovely, sweet, and true sense among them: we were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful, surrounded with great and mighty countries of darkness! It is the Lord's great goodness and mercy to them, that they are so finely kept, even natural, in the seed of life. They were most of them gathered by dear William Ames.

The next morningⁱ we had another meeting, where we took our leave of them, and so came, accompanied by several of them, to Worms; where having

^a 26. 6. 1. ⁱ 27. 6. 2.

refreshed

refreshed ourselves, we went to visit the Lutheran priest, that was at the meeting the sixth day before at Crisheim; he received us very kindly, and his wife, not without some sense of our testimony. After we had discoursed about an hour with him, of the true and heavenly ministry and worship, and in what they stood, and what all people must come unto, if ever they will know how to worship God aright, we departed, and immediately sent them several good books of friends, in High Dutch.

We took boat about the third hour in the afternoon, and came down the river Rhine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour in the morning,* and immediately took an open chariot to Franckfort, where we came about the first hour in the afternoon.

We presently informed some of those people, that had received us the time before, of our return to that city, with desires that we might have a meeting that afternoon; which was readily granted us by the noble women, at whose house we met, whither resorted some that we had not seen before: and the Lord did, after a living manner, open our hearts and mouths amongst them, which was received by them as a farther confirmation of the coming of the day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much joy and kindness they received us.

The meeting held till the ninth hour at night; they constrained us to stay and eat with them, which was also a blessed meeting to them. Before we parted, we desired a select meeting the next morning, at the same place, of those that we felt more inwardly affected with truth's testimony, and that were nearest unto the state of a silent meeting, which they joyfully assented to.

We went to our lodging, and the next morning¹ we returned unto them, with whom we had a blessed and heavenly opportunity, for we had room for our

* 28. 6. 3. ¹ 29. 6. 4.

life amongst them : it was among faithful friends, life ran as oil, and swam a-top of all.

We recommended a *silent meeting* unto them, that they might grow into an *boly silence* unto themselves; that the mouth that calls God *Father*, that is not of his own *birth*, may be stopped, and all *images* confounded, that they may hear the soft *voice of Jesus* to instruct them, and receive his sweet life to feed them, and to build them up.

About the ninth hour we departed from that place, and went to Vander Walls, where the meeting was the time before, and there we had a more publick meeting of all that pleased to come. The Lord did so abundantly appear among us, that they were more broken than we had seen them at any time; yea, they were exceeding tender and low, and the love of God was much raised in their hearts to the testimony. In this sensible frame we left them, and the blessings and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ with and among them.

And after we had refreshed ourselves at our inn, we took boat down the Maine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour. It is a great city, but a dark and superstitious place, according to the Popish way, and is under the government of a Popish bishop. We stayed no longer there than till our boat was ready, which might be better than half an hour. From Mentz we went on our way down the Rhine six German miles, and came that night to Hampack : from thence the next morning,^m we went by Bacherach, Coblentz, and other places upon the Rhine, to Trefy that night, being about eleven German miles. Next day,ⁿ being the sixth day of the week, we got to Cullen, a great Popish city, about the third hour in the afternoon. We gave notice to a sober merchant in that town, 'a serious seeker after God,' that we were there arrived, who presently came to us. We sat down, and had a living and precious opportunity with

^m 30. 6. 5. ⁿ 31. 6. 6.

him,

him, opening to him the 'way of the Lord, as it 'had been manifested to us;' intreating him, if he knew any in that city, who had desires after the Lord, or that were willing to come to a meeting, that he would please to inform them of our being here, and of our desire to meet with them. He answered, 'He 'would readily do it.'

This night, when we were in bed, came the resident of several princes, (a serious and tender man) to find us out: we had some discourse with him; but being late, he promised to see us the next day.

The next morning^o came the aforesaid merchant, informing us that it was a busy time, several preparing for the mart or great fair at Franckfort; yet some would come, and he desired the meeting might be at his house about three in the afternoon.

In the morning we went to visit that resident, whom we met coming to see us; but he returned and brought us to his house. We had a good time with him; for the man is an ancient seeker, oppressed with the cares of this world, and he may be truly said to mourn under them: 'His heart was opened to us, and he 'blessed God that he had lived to see us.' We gave him an account how the Lord had appeared in the land of our nativity, and how he had dealt with us; which was as the cool and gentle showers upon the dry and scorched desert. About noon we returned home, and after we had eaten, we went to the merchant's house to the meeting, where came four persons, one of which was the Presbyterian priest, who preached in private to the Protestants of that place; for they are are no ways publicly allowed in that city. Surely the true day and power of the Lord made known itself to the consciences of them present: yea, they felt that we were such as had been with Jesus, and that had obtained our testimony, through the sufferings and travails of the cross. They were tender: the resident and merchant conducted us to our inn, and

from thence to the boat, being about seven at night. We set out towards the city of Duijsburgh, of the Calvinist way, belonging to the elector of Brandenburg, in and near to which we had been informed there were a retired and seeking people.

We arrived there the next day about noon,^p being the first day of the week. The first thing we did after we came to our inn, was to enquire out one Dr. Mastricht, a civilian, for whom we had a letter to introduce us, from a merchant of Cullen; whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, desiring his assistance, which he readily promised us. The first thing we offered, was an access to the countess of Falchensteyn and Bruch: he told us, 'she was an extraordinary woman, one in whom
' we should find things worthy of our love; that he
' would write to her, to give us an opportunity with
' her; that the fittest time was the present time, in
' that we might find her at the minister's of Mulheim,
' on the other side of the river from her father's castle; for that she used to come out the first day
' morning, and not return till night: that we must
' be very shy of making ourselves publick, not only
' for our own sakes, but for hers, who was severely
' treated by her father, for the sake of those religious
' inclinations that appeared in her, although her father
' pretended to be of the Protestant religion.'

We therefore dispatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being also accompanied by him about one third of the way; but being six English miles, and on foot, we could not compass the place before the meeting was over; for it was past three before we could get out from Duijsburgh; and following that way which led to the backside of the graef's castle and orchard, which was also a common way to the town, (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it) we met one Henry Smith, schoolmaster and catechizer of Speldorp, to

whom we imparted our business, and gave the letter of Dr. Mastricht of Dussburgh, to introduce us to the countess.

He told us, 'He had just left her, being come over the water from worship, but he would carry the letter to her, and bring an answer suddenly;' but notwithstanding staid near an hour. When he came, he gave us this answer, viz. 'That she would be glad to meet us, but she did not know where; but rather inclined that we should go over the water to the minister's house, whither, if she could, she would come to us; but that a strict hand was held over her by her father.' After some more serious discourse with him, concerning the "witness of God in the conscience," and the discovery, testimony, and judgment of that "true light," unto which all must bow that would be heirs of the kingdom of God, (recommending him to the same) we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. But being necessitated to pass by her father's castle, who is seignior or lord of that country, it so fell out, that at that very instant he came forth to walk: and seeing us in the habit of strangers, sent one of his attendants to demand who, and from whence we were, and whither we went? Calling us afterwards to him, and asking us the same questions. We answered, 'That we were Englishmen come from Holland, going no farther in these parts than his own town of Mulheim.' But not shewing him, or paying him, that worldly homage and respect which was expected from us, some of his gentlemen asked us, 'If we knew whom we were before? And if we did not use to deport ourselves after another manner before noblemen, and in the presence of princes?' We answered, 'We were not conscious to ourselves of any disrespect or unseemly behaviour.' One of them sharply replied, 'Why do you not pull off your hats, then? Is it respect to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?' We told them, 'It was our practice in the presence of our prince, who is a

‘ great king ; and that we uncovered not our heads
 ‘ to any, but in our duty to Almighty God.’ Upon
 which the graef called us Quakers, saying unto us,
 ‘ We have no need of Quakers here ; get you out of
 ‘ my dominions ; you shall not go to my town.’

We told him, ‘ That we were an innocent people,
 ‘ that feared God, and had good-will towards all men ;
 ‘ that we had true respect in our hearts towards him,
 ‘ and would be glad to do him any real good or ser-
 ‘ vice ; and that the Lord had made it matter of con-
 ‘ science to us, not to conform ourselves to the vain
 ‘ and fruitless customs of this world,’ or words to this
 purpose. However, he commanded some of his sol-
 diers to see us out of his territories ; to whom we also
 declared somewhat of the reason and intention of our
 coming to that place, in the fear and love of God,
 and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our
 hearts ; and as we passed through the village where the
 school-master dwelt, (yet in the dominions of the
 graef) we called upon him, and in the sense of God’s
 power and kingdom, opened to him the message and
 testimony of truth, which the man received with a
 weighty and serious spirit. For under the dominion
 of the graef there is a large congregation of Protest-
 ants called Calvinists, of a more religious, inward,
 and zealous frame of spirit, than any body of people
 we met with or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our testimony to him, we took
 our leave, desiring him not to fear, but to be of good
 courage, for the day of the Lord was hastening upon
 all the workers of iniquity ; and to them that feared
 his name, wherever scattered throughout the earth, he
 would cause the “ Sun of righteousness to arise and
 “ visit them, with healing under his wings :” and to
 remember us with true love and kindness to the coun-
 tress, daughter to this graef ; and to desire her not to
 be offended in us, nor to be dismayed at the displeasure
 of her father ; but eye the Lord, that hath visited her
 soul with his holy light, by which she seeth the vanity
 of

of this world, and in some measure the emptiness and deadness of the religions that are in it, and he would preserve her from the fear of the wrath of man, that worketh not the "righteousness of God." So we left the peace of Jesus with him, and walked on towards Duyssburgh, being about six English miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and solitary wood, about three miles long, with the joy of his salvation; giving us to remember, and to speak one unto another of his blessed witnesses in the days past, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and strangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens, that had foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

Betwixt nine and ten we reached the walls of Duyssburgh, but the gates were shut; and there being no houses without the walls, we laid us down together in the field, receiving both natural and spiritual refreshment, blessed be the Lord. About three in the morning^a we rose, sanctifying God in our hearts, that had kept us that night, and walked till five, often speaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and on several places of that land that were almost ripe unto harvest.

Soon after the clock had struck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long got to our inn, but it came upon me, with a sweet, yet fervent power, to visit this persecuted countess, with a salutation from the love and life of Jesus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord; which I did in this following epistle.

^a 3. 7. 2.

To the Countess of Falchensteyn and Bruch, at Mulheim.

My dear friend,

JESUS, the immaculate Lamb of God, (grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity) illuminate thy understanding, bless and be with thy spirit for ever!

Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God: the report whereof, from some in the same state, hath made deep impression of true kindness upon my spirit, and raised in me a very singular and fervent inclination to visit thee; and the rather, because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of thy zeal towards God, myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause, from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world. The remembrance whereof hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me; and my soul hath often, in the sweet sense and feeling of the holy presence of God, and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderness, implored his divine assistance unto thee, that thou mayest both be illuminated to do, and made willing to suffer, for his name's sake; that the Spirit of God and of glory may rest upon thy soul.

And truly I can say, I felt the good-will of God, his holy care, and heavenly visitation of love to extend unto thee. But one thing more especially lay upon my spirit to have communicated unto thee, which made me the more pressing for an opportunity to speak with thee, and that was this, ' That thou ' shouldest have a true, right, and distinct knowledge ' of thy own state, and what *THAT* is which hath visited thee; and in *what* thy faith, patience, hope, ' and salvation stand; *where* to wait, and *how* to find ' the Lord, and distinguish between that which is ' born

‘ born of God, and that which is not; both with respect to thyself in all the motions and conceptions of thy heart, and with respect to others in their religious worships and performances; to the end that thou mayest not be deceived about the things relating to God’s kingdom, and thy eternal peace:’ this is of greatest weight.

Now know certainly, THAT which hath discovered unto thee the vanities of this world, the emptiness and the fading of all earthly glory, the blessedness of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith he hath enlightened thy soul: “for in him was life, and that life “ is the light of mankind,” John i. 4. 9. Thus God “ promised, by the prophet Isaiah, to give him, viz. “ for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth.” So that Christ the light is God’s gift, and eternal life is hid in him; yea, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who is the light of the gospel-temple, true believers, Rev. xxi. And all that receive this light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to see in what ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the evil-one, and make this blessed light the guide of their life; fearing, with an holy fear, to do any thing that this light manifests to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care to be preserved blameless before the Lord; I say, all such become children of light, and witnesses of the life of Jesus. O blessed wilt thou be for ever, if in the way of this holy light thy mind walks to the end!

Let *this* that hath visited thee lead thee; this seed of light and life, which is the seed of the kingdom; yea, it is Christ, the true and only seed of God, that visited my soul, even in my young years; that spread my sins in order before me, reprov’d me, and brought godly sorrow upon me; making me often to weep in solitary places, and say within my soul, ‘ O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I served him as I ought to serve him!’ Yea, often

was there a great concern upon my spirit about mine eternal state, mournfully desiring that the Lord would give my soul rest in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ; for the love, friendship, and pleasure of this world were a burden unto my soul. And in this seeking-state I was directed to the testimony of Jesus in mine own conscience, as the true shining light, giving me to discern the thoughts and intents of mine own heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not: and when I received it in the love of it, it shewed me all that ever I had done, and reproved all the unfruitful works of darkness; judging me as a man in the flesh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet in me. And as by the 'brightness of his coming' into my soul, he discovered the man of sin there, upon his throne, so by the 'breath of his mouth,' which is the two-edged sword of his Spirit, he destroyeth his power and kingdom. And so having made me a witness of the death of the cross, he hath also made me a witness of his resurrection. So that in good measure my soul can now say, 'I am justified' in the Spirit; and though the state of condemnation unto death was glorious, yet justification unto life was, and is, more glorious.'

In this state of the new man all is new: behold new heavens, and a new earth! Old things come to be done away; the old man with his deeds put off. Now new thoughts, new desires, new affections, new love, new friendship, new society, new kindred, new faith; even that which overcometh this world, through many tribulations; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all storms, and can see to the glory that is invisible (to carnal eyes) in the midst of the greatest tempest.

Now

Now it is the same blessed seed of light, life, and grace, which from God the Father is sown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou hast witnessed from the spirit of this world: turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayest be kept from all that it discovers to be contrary to God; especially from thyself, from thine own runnings, willings, and strivings: 'For whatsoever is not born of the Spirit is flesh; and that inherits not the kingdom of God; but all that sow to it shall inherit corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all sin to be a burden, but all thine own righteousness, yea, all man's righteousness, to be a burden. Thou wilt see the difference betwixt the duties and prayers which thou begettest, and the duties and prayers which, in thy true silence from all self-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

O that thou mightest know the mystery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God *Father*! even that that is begotten of him, which liveth and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being, in that life which is hid with Christ in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worship of Christ and God. And this thou shalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently sufferest the Lord to work his own work in thee, by his own blessed Spirit. And that which will give thee to favour, and discern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyself, from the false, will give thee to favour and discern that which is right from that which is false in others; that which is of God, from that which is of man.

Have a care of gathering of sticks, and kindling a fire of *thine own*, and then compassing thyself about with the sparks of the fire which thou hast kindled, for the end of this state is to lie down in sorrow; because the heavenly fire is absent, which maketh the sacrifice acceptable: yea, the Lord may stir in thy heart, but thou mayest bring forth: but he that gives to conceive, he brings to the birth, and he giveth power

power to bring forth acceptably: "for without Christ we can do nothing;" and blessed are they that stir not before the angel moveth the waters, and go ~~not~~ before Christ, but are led by him, and that awaken not their Beloved till he please; in whose hands the times and the seasons are. O blessed are they, whose eyes are opened to see him always present, a God always nigh at hand; whose hearts are stayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby translated into his likeness; whose faith and hope are in Christ in them, the hope of glory!

My dear friend, weigh these things with a serious, retired, sweet and tender frame of spirit; and the God, that hath called me and thee, by the light of his dear Son, open thine understanding to perceive the truth as it is in Jesus, and what is the mystery of the fellowship of the saints in light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the watchman and keeper of Israel. The Lord be thy strength and holy comfort, and ~~speake~~ peace to thee, and never leave thee ~~nor forsake thee~~, till he hath conducted thee through all tribulations, to his everlasting kingdom of rest and glory.

O dear heart, be valiant, and stay thyself upon Christ Jesus the everlasting rock, and feel him a fountain in thy soul; feel his blood to cleanse, and his blood to drink, and his flesh to eat: feed upon him, for God hath given him for the life of the world.

I had seen thee, had not thy father's strange sort of severity hindered. I confess, I do not use to be so treated in mine own country, where the Lord hath raised up many thousands of witnesses, that he hath gathered out of all sects and professions, to worship him, not in their *own* spirits or wills, but in *his* will, spirit, and truth: and we are generally, after much affliction and suffering, in good esteem, even with the great ones of this world. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a man of great anguish and sorrow, because of the scorn and reproach that hath attended my separation from the world, ~~(having been taught of Jesus to turn my back~~
upon

upon all, for the sake of that glory that shall be revealed) yet to God's honour I can say it, I have an hundred friends for one, yea, God hath turned the hearts of mine enemies towards me; he hath fulfilled his promise, "to turn the hearts of the parents unto "the children." For my parents, that once disowned me for this blessed testimony's sake, (of the Jew, Christian, circumcision, and baptism inward, against the fleshly Christian) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! Yea, the ways of his mercy are even past finding out.

Wherefore, my dear friend, trust in the Lord for ever; and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apostles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jesus, illuminate, fortify and preserve thee steadfast, that in the end thou mayest receive the reward of life and eternal salvation: to whom be glory, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, One God, and One Lord, blessed and magnified for ever and ever, Amen,

Thy great and faithful lover for the blessed and
holy truth's sake,

W. PENN.

Duisburgh, the 13th of the
7th month, S. N. 1677.

The inclosed I received from a religious young woman at Franckfort. We have had a blessed opportunity in this town with some that have a desire after the Lord, in which we are abundantly comforted. We have just now received thy message and salutation from H. V. which hath exceedingly refreshed and revived us; for our trouble was not for ourselves, but for thee; and we hope our love will not turn to thy disadvantage; for we mentioned nothing of thy name, nor the name of any other person, only that we desired to speak with the minister of Mulheim, and that was only to the soldier. The Lord made

made us a good bed in the fields, and we were very well satisfied. We are going this afternoon out of the town towards Wesel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden, the Lord willing. So farewell in the Lord,

Here followeth a letter to her father, the graef of Bruch and Falchensteyn.

To the Graef or Earl of Bruch and Falchensteyn,
Friend,

I Wist thy salvation; and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou shewedst unto me and my friends the last night, if it be his will: but since thou art but a mortal man, one that must give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee.

By what law on earth are men, not scandalous, under no prescription, harmless strangers, about lawful occasions, and men not vagabonds, but of good quality in their own country, stopped, menaced, sent back with soldiers, and that at sun-set, exposed to the night in an unknown country, and therefore forced to lie in the fields: I say, by what law are we judged, yea, thus punished before heard? Is this the law of nations, or nature, or Germany, or of Christianity? Oh! Where's nature, where's civility? Where's hospitality? But where's Christianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers. Quakers! What's that for a name? Is there a law of the empire against that name? No: Did we own it? No: but if we had, the letters of that name neither make up drunkard, whoremaster, thief, murderer, nor traitor: why so odious then? What harm hath it done? Why could *Jews* pass just before us, that have *crucified* Christ, and not *Quakers*, that *never* crucified him? But ignorance is as well the mother of persecution as devotion: and the false Christian, and the false Jew, have but one father.

But,

But, *argumentum ad hominem*, my friend, bear with me a little: art thou a Christian? How canst thou be rude, uncivil, and persecute then? Thou art to love enemies, not abuse friends; harmless strangers. Well, but this life is dead, this doctrine antiquated, Jesus Christ turned out of doors, I perceive. What art thou for a Christian? A Lutheran? Yes; canst thou so lately forget the practices of the Papists, and with what abhorrence thy ancestors declared against sort of entertainment? Were not they despised, mocked, and persecuted? And are their children treading in the steps of their old enemies? Friend, it is not reformed words, but a reformed life, that will stand thee in stead. It is not to live the life of the unregenerate, worldly-minded and wicked, under the profession of the saints words, that give an entrance into God's rest. Be not deceived, such as thou sowest, such must thou reap in the day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean-state that tried all things, and therefore not noble in the Christian sense. The Bereans were noble, for they judged not before examination.

And for thy saying, 'We want no Quakers here,' I ay, under favour, you *do*: for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth, in the light and grace of God, till his great change cometh; and that taketh up the daily cross to his own will and lusts, that he may do the will of God, manifested to him by the light of Jesus in his conscience; and according to the holy precepts and examples in the holy scriptures of truth, laid down by Jesus, and his followers, for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that *loveth* his enemies, rather than feareth them; that *blesseth* those that curse him; and *prayeth* for those that despitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. And, O that thou wert such a Quaker! Then wouldst thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that must give an account to God for the deeds done

done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance, mercy, justice, meekness, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family and country. Repent, I exhort thee, and consider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world; therefore mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, lest distresses come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee.

I am, thy well-wishing friend,

W. P.

Duyßburgh 3d 7th Mo.
1677. S. N.

This being done, we went to Dr. Mastricht's to inform him of what had passed; who, though of a kind disposition, and very friendly to us, yet seemed surprized with fear, (the common disease of this country) crying out, 'What will become of this poor countess! Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, behaving himself very severely to her, but now he will conclude she is one indeed, and he will lead her a lamentable life: I know,' said he, 'you care not for suffering, but she is to be pitied.' We told him that we loved her, and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Christ hath done for us, in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter that he gave us to her, so much as seen, or known of her father. But still he feared that our carriage would incense the graef so much the more against both his daughter, and all those serious and enquiring people up and down his country. We answered, with an earnestness of spirit, that they had minded the incensings and wrath of men *too much* already, and that true religion would never spring or grow under such fears; and that it was time for all that felt any thing of the work of God in their hearts, to cast away the slavish fear of man, and to come forth in the boldness of the true Christian life; yea, that

that sufferings break and make way for greater liberty, and that God was wiser and stronger than man.

We asked him if there were any in that city who enquired more diligently after the way of the Lord? He recommended us (as we had already been informed in another place) to the family of the prætor, or chief governor of the town; whose wife, and sister more especially, were seeking after the best things: so we parted with him in love; and, by the help of his daughter, were conducted to this family.

We had not been long there, before a school-master of Duffeldorp, and also a minister came in, enquiring after us, having heard of us at Mulheim, where we preached the day before to the people, or else by the way of our attempt to visit that place, and the entertainment we received at the hands of the græf. He sat down with us, and though we had already a sweet opportunity, yet feeling the power of God to rise, the meeting renewed: and, O magnified be the name of the Lord! he witnessed to our testimony abundantly in all their hearts and consciences, who were broken into much tenderness; and certainly there is a blessed power and zeal stirring in that young man; yea, he is very near the kingdom. So we took our leave of them, leaving the Lord's peace and blessing upon them.

It was now something past the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging we met a messenger from the countess of Falchensteyn, a pretty young tender man, near to the kingdom, who saluted us in her name with much love; telling us, 'That she was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us; advising us not to expose ourselves to such difficulties and hardships, for it would grieve her heart, that any that came in the love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled;' for at some he sets his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them: 'but what shall I say! That, *itself* must not hinder you from doing good,' said the countess.

We answered him, that his message was joyful to
us,

us, that she had any regard to us, and that she was not offended with us: we desired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourselves, but for her. We invited him to eat with us, but he told us he was an inhabitant of Meurs, and was in haste to go home. So we briefly declared our principle and message, recommending him to Christ the true light in his conscience, and parted. So we went home to dinner, having neither eaten nor drank since first-day morning, and having lain out all night in the field.

We had no sooner got to our inn, but the man was constrained to come after us, and sat down with us, and enquired concerning our friends, their rise, principles, and progress; and in all things that he desired satisfaction about, he declared himself satisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that city, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and for want of accommodation were forced to walk on foot eight English miles to a town called Holton, where we rested that night.

The next morning we set out for Wesel, and got thither at noon. The first thing we did (as had been our custom) was to enquire who was worthy, particularly for two persons recommended to us by the countess of Hornes, that lives with the princess Elizabeth. But upon enquiry, we found one of them was gone to Amsterdam with his wife, who had been formerly a preacher, and being conscientiously dissatisfied with his own preaching, laid it down, and is now in a seeking state. But in lieu of him we found out three more, with the other person that had been recommended to us. We bespoke a meeting amongst them after dinner, which accordingly we had at a woman's house of good note in the town; who told us, that she had been long in a solitary estate, dissatisfied with the religions generally professed in that country, waiting for salvation, and she hoped that now

the time was come, and that we were the messengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the meeting, and their hearts were opened, by the word of God, to receive our testimony as glad tidings of salvation. Meeting being done, we immediately returned to our lodgings, desiring we might see them together in the same place the next morning, to take our leave of them, to which they readily assented.

Next morning we came, and had a precious meeting with them; and there were some present that were not there the night before. So we left them in much love, and went to our inn; where, after having refreshed ourselves, we went to Rees, where we met with a counsellor of Gelderlandt, with whom we had a good opportunity to declare the testimony of Jesus; who received it, and parted with us in much kindness.

From thence we went to Emrick, and there called upon an eminent Baptist teacher, recommended to us by one of Wesel: we spent some time with him, opening to him the way of life, as in the light it is manifested to all that love and obey the light; and of that more spiritual and pure ministry, that from the living word of God is received by many true ministers in this day. The man was somewhat full of words, but we felt the living visitation of the love of God reached to him, and so we left him, making all the haste we could to get to Cleve that night; which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one third part of the way on foot.

That night, notwithstanding, one of us went to a certain lady, to whom we had recommendations from the princess, and that was particularly known to one of us, informing her that we were come to that city, desiring to know what time next day we might give her a visit; she appointed eight in the morning.

About that time^t we went to see her; she received us (considering her quality and courtship) far from any appearance of offence at our deportment. We told her our message and visit was to those of that city, that had any inclinations or desires, hunger or thirst, after the true and living knowledge of God; for that end we had left our own country, and had wandered up and down in several parts of Germany. She told us, that some there were that searched after God; but she feared the name of Quaker would make them shy, because they were called Quakers themselves, by people of the same profession, only for being more serious and retired in their conversation.

We replied, that it was an honour to the name, that all sobriety throughout Germany, was called by it; this ought to make the name less odious, yea, it will make the way easier for those that are truly called so, or that are Quakers indeed: it will take off much of the wonder, and, it may be, of the severity of the places, where we come, that the name is gone before us, and hath received a dwelling-place in their towns and cities. In fine, to all such God hath committed to us the word of life to preach, and such we seek out in all places where the Lord bringeth us: and hitherto we can say it, to the praise of our God, he hath vindicated our services and testimony, by his own blessed power, shed abroad in their hearts to whom we have been sent.

So she told us she would send for an attorney at law, one that was more than ordinarily eminent; having deserted the church, and being therefore reproached with the name of Quaker.

In this interval we had close discourse with her; a woman certainly of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance: so that it was hard for us to obtain a true silence; a state in which we could reach to her.

But through some travail of spirit more than ordinary, we had a sweet time of refreshment, and the

witness was raised in her, and we really and plainly beheld a true nobility, yea, that which was sensible of our testimony, and did receive it.

By this time the person she sent for came, and a blessed sweet time we had: for the power and presence of the Lord, our staff and strength, unto which our eye hath been throughout all our travels, that we might only be acceptable in that, plenteously appeared amongst us (the Lord have the glory of his own work) both confessing to the truth of what had been said, and the attorney to the *living sense* in which the truth had been declared.

We would have returned to our inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the morning, but she laid a kind of violent hands upon us, and necessitated us to stay and eat with her; which we did. And we had no sooner sat down, but her brother-in-law, a man of quality and employment in the court of the elector of Brandenburg, came in, who dined with us.

As we sat at meat, we had a good meeting; for the time was much taken up about the things of God, either in answering their questions, or ministering to them about the true Christian nature and life; in all which her brother behaved himself with great sweetness and respect.

After dinner we took our Christian leave of them in the fear of God, recommending unto them the light of Christ Jesus, that brings all that receive it into the one spirit, to live in holy peace and concord together; particularly and alone speaking to the lady and the attorney what was upon us as to their states.

And so we departed, and soon after took waggon for Nimeguen; where arriving about the seventh hour that night, we immediately took waggon for Utrecht, and got thither about the tenth hour next morning.* We heard there was a people in that city, but had not now time to visit them, referring it to another opportunity.

About the first hour in the afternoon, G. K. and B. F. took waggon for Rotterdam, and I took waggon for Amsterdam, where I came safely that night, about six in the evening; and I found friends generally well, though it was a sickly time in that country. The meeting-house was much enlarged, and there was a fresh enquiry among many people after the truth, and great desires to hear the testimony and declaration of it. I also understood that dear G. F. was returned from Frederickstadt and Hamburgh into Urieslandt, whither T. R. and J. Y. were gone from this city to meet with him. He had an hard time of travail with respect to the weather, yet I heard was in good health, through the Lord's power that had kept him.

Here I received a letter from the princess Elizabeth, in answer to mine of the 25th of the sixth month, from Manheim, alias Fredericksburgh.

The 4th of September, 1677.

Dear friend,

I Have received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations, with much joy, and shall follow the latter so far as it shall please our great God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself, and can do nothing of myself, but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and shall not shrink for his fire; I do long for it; and when he assures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein. I am also glad to hear the journey hath been prosperous both in the constitutions of your bodies, to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel, Franckfort, and Crisheim: nothing surprized me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingenuity, having lately writ a book, entitled, 'Le Veritable Chretien,' that doth speak another way. I wish to know what reception you have had at Fredericksburgh; and if this find you at Cleve,
I wish

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I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, which do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrine, as also the countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else, concerning

Your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

ELIZABETH.

Let both your friends and companions receive my hearty commendations here.

This day at night^v (being the seventh day of the week) came John Hill from Urieslandt to the house of G. D. in Amsterdam.

The next day^{*} (being the first day of the week) we had a blessed and large meeting, larger than ordinary, because of a great addition of room since our journey into Germany. Indeed there was a great appearance of sober professing people, yea, several of the chief of the Baptists, as Galenus and companions: the Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the meeting blessedly ended about the fourth hour.

That night, after supper, having taken my leave in a sweet little meeting among friends, I took boat for Horn (P. Hendrick accompanying me) about the seventh hour at night, and got thither about two in the morning;⁷ where lying down till about six, we took waggon for Enckhuyfen. We came thither a little after eight in the morning; where having refreshed ourselves, about the ninth hour we took ship for Workum in Urieslandt, and arriving about one, immediately took waggon for Harlingen, where we arrived about six; there we met with dear G. F. J. T. J. Y. T. R. J. C. and his wife.

^v 8. 7. 7. ^{*} 9. 7. 1. ⁷ 10. 7. 2.

The next day² we had two blessed meetings; one amongst friends, being the first monthly meeting that was settled for Urieslandt, Groningen, and Embden; the other a publick meeting, where resorted both Baptists, collegians and others; and among the rest, a doctor of physick and a Presbyterian minister: all sat with great attention and sobriety, but the minister and doctor more especially. The first, having a lecture sermon to preach that evening, went away; but, notwithstanding, speedily returned, G. F. still speaking: but, as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to stay, sat at the door till G. F. had done; and then stood up, and pulling off his hat, looking up to heaven, in a solemn manner, and with a loud voice, spake to this purpose: "The All-mighty, the All-wise, the Omnipotent Great God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever, confirm his word that hath been spoken this day:" apologizing that he could not longer stay, for that he was a minister of the reformed religion, and was just now going to preach, where all that would come should be welcome; and so left the meeting.

The physician also was called away, but returned, and stayed till the meeting was ended. Just as the meeting ended came the minister again, who said, in the hearing of some friends, 'That he had made his sermon much shorter than ordinary, that he might enjoy the rest of the meeting.' At night came the physician to see me; who, after a serious and Christian discourse, expressing great satisfaction in most things relating to friends, left me; withal telling me, 'That if I had not been to go the fourth hour next morning, he would either have stayed longer with me, or come again.'

He also remembered the parson's love to us, and told me, 'That if it had not been for fear of giving offence, or coming too much under the observation of the people, he would have come to have seen

‘ us:’ adding, ‘ That it was a great pity that this ‘ people had not printed their principles to the world:’ to which the doctor answered, ‘ That he had some of ‘ our books, and he would lend him them.’ Blessed be the Lord, his glorious work goeth on, and his power is over all. It being now the tenth hour at night, I took my leave of G. F. and friends.

This day it came upon me to write a letter to Joanna Eleonora Malane, the noble young woman at Franckfort.

Dear friend, J. E. M.

MY dear and tender love, which God hath raised in my heart by his living word to all mankind, but more especially unto those in whom he hath begotten an holy hunger and thirst after him, saluteth thee; and amongst those of that place where thou livest, the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is most particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the sense of your open-heartedness, simplicity, and sincere love to the testimony of Jesus, that by us was delivered unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you, and often raised in my soul heavenly breathings to the God of my life, that he would keep you in the daily sense of that divine life, which then affected you. For this know, it was the life in *yourselves*, that so sweetly visited you by the ministry of life through *us*.

Wherefore, love the divine life and light in yourselves: be retired and still; let that holy seed move in all heavenly things before you move: for no one receiveth any thing (that truly profiteth) but what he receiveth from *above*. Thus said John to his disciples. Now that which stirreth in your hearts, draweth you out of the world, slayeth you to all the vain-glory, and pleasure, and empty worships that are in it; this is from *above*, the heavenly seed of God, pure and incorruptible, that is come down from heaven to make you heavenly; that in heavenly places you may dwell,

and witness, with the saints of old, this heavenly treasure in earthen vessels.

O stay your minds upon the appearance of Jesus in you, in whose light you shall see light! It will make you of a weighty considering spirit more and more; that you may see how the mystery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have, that belongeth not to the paradise of God, that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jesus, and follow him, who is going up and down, doing good to all that believe in his name. So possess your souls in the sensible feeling of his daily visits, shinnings and breathings upon your spirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumspectly, lest the enemy surprize you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his sweet and precious visitations. That so those holy beginnings, which thou art a witness of, with thy companions, may not be lost, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from day to day, feel the growth of his light, life, power, and kingdom in your souls, that you may be able to say, "The kingdom of God is come, yea, it is given to the saints."

And what I say unto one, I say unto all that received our testimony in that city; to whom thou mayest give, if thou pleasest, the remembrance of my dear love, who travail in the spirit for their redemption, that they may be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Particularly salute me to the young woman, that met with us at thy lodging. The Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace, dwell amongst you, keep your hearts stedfast in his holy light, without wavering, all the days of your appointed time, until your great and last change shall come; when he will receive his own sheep into his own everlasting kingdom, from the power of the foxes and the wolves, and all the devouring beasts and birds of prey; when he will wipe away all tears from their eyes, and sighing and sorrowing shall be no more; and when it shall
be

be said, "There is no more death, no more night, no
"more time."

So dear J. E. M. know, that the Lord hath brought us well to Amsterdam, not without good service by the way: for at Cullen we had a precious meeting, and were received with much gladness of heart. We also went to Duysburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, being the first day of the week, hoping to get an opportunity with the countess of Bruch, and to deliver thy letter: but her father (who is a cruel and severe man) meeting us near his castle, stopped us; and after some little time, finding what we were, said, 'There wanted no Quakers there;' and sent us with some of his soldiers out of his territory. It was about sun-set, so that we were forced to return towards Duysburg, but the gates of the city being shut, and there being no houses without it, we were forced to lie in the fields all night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable bed. We told the graef at parting, 'We were men that feared the Almighty God; we desired the good of all men; and that we came not hither for any evil design:' but he would not hear; the Lord, if he pleaseth, forgive him. Nevertheless we had a good meeting at Duysburg, where we had our hearts desire, the blessed power and life of God making its own way in the hearts of those that heard our testimony. I also writ a large and tender letter to the countess, and received a sweet and loving message from her: and I have great hopes that all things will work together for the best.

From Duysburg we went to Wesel, where we enquired out who was worthy, and there we found four or five separated from all congregations, "waiting for
"the Consolation of Israel," with whom we had two precious meetings: and leaving the peace of Jesus with them, went to Emrick, where we visited the chief Baptist teacher, who confessed to our testimony, and received us lovingly. We directed them to that gift of God in himself, that pure and eternal word in the heart, that he might know the pure ministry of that,
from

from the ministry of man's spirit, which cannot profit or give life to the soul.

From thence we went to Cleve, where at a lady's house, belonging to the court, we had a precious meeting: and we found some that had deserted the publick ministry, as not being appointed of God to preach, neither knowing, by true experience, the way and travail of the new birth, but made and maintained by men: we founded the joyful gospel amongst them, and from thence, by the way of Nimeguen and Utrecht, we came the last sixth day to Amsterdam, which was the seventh of the seventh month.

This last first-day I had a great and blessed meeting at Amsterdam, almost of every quality and religion; the Lord's heavenly power (that is quickening people into a living sense of him, that they may say, "the Lord liveth, and he liveth in me") reigned that day over all.

In the evening I took boat for Horn, and from thence came last night (being the second day of the week) to this city of Harlingen, where we met with some of our brethren, that had been up at Hamburgh and Frederickstadt; and this day we are to have two meetings here, the one among our friends, the other publick for the town. It is upon me to visit J. de Labadie's people, that they may know HIM in themselves, in whom their salvation standeth: for these simple people are to be pitied. From thence I think to visit Leeuwaerden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Wesel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and so to return to Amsterdam, the Lord enabling me by his power.

This ariseth in my heart to thee; 'Give not thy bread to dogs; spend not thy portion; feed not the serpent, neither hearken to him: abide with Jesus, and he will abide with thee, that thou mayest grow in wisdom and in righteousness, through the cross, that crucifieth thee to the world, and the world to thee.' So in the love which overcometh the world, that is divine, and from above, and leadeth all thither
that

that receive it into their hearts, I take my leave of thee, with thy companions, and all the rest of that city known to us, remaining

Thy faithful friend, and the Lord's day-labourer,
W. P.

Harlingen, 11th of the
7th month, 1677.

Next morning,^a about the fourth hour, I took boat for Leeuwaerden; J. Claus, who had been at Frederickstadt with G. F. went with me. G. F. J. Y. and T. R. with P. H. returned that day towards Amsterdam.

At Leeuwaerden we came about nine, and began the meeting about ten; which we enjoyed with peace and refreshment, several being there (as in other places) that were never at a meeting before.

The meeting being done, and having refreshed ourselves with food, we took waggon for Wiewart, the mansion-house of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company resideth, it being strong upon my spirit to give them a visit. We got thither about five; and as we were walking over a field to the house, we met a young man of that company, who conducted us in. I asked for Ivon the pastor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon presently came with his co-pastor; they received us very civilly. However, they seemed shy of letting me speak with A. M. S. objecting her weakness, age, taking physick, &c. But putting them in mind how unhandsomely I was used at Herwerden six years ago, by J. de Labadie, their father, who, though I came a great journey to visit him and his people, suffered me not to speak with them; they presently complied, and went in to let her know that such a person desired to speak with her, and quickly returned, desiring me to come in. But foreseeing my time would be too short for

my message, the sun being near setting, and having two English miles of unknown way to our lodging, on foot, I desired them, that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my spirit, and especially the next morning; yet my faith was in the power of God, and I had a plain sight that I should have a good service among them; however, I should clear my conscience, and my peace should rest with me.

The next morning^b I returned to them, and J. C. along with me. So soon as we came, we were brought into A. M. S.'s chamber; where also was with her one of the three Somerdykes.

This A. M. S. aforesaid, is an ancient maid, above sixty years of age, of great note and fame for learning in languages and philosophy, and hath obtained a considerable place among the most learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague, people of great breeding and inheritances. These, with several other persons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie, against the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship and society, separated themselves from the common Calvinist churches, and followed him in the way of a refined Independency.

They are a serious, plain people, and are come nearer to friends, as in silence in meetings, women-speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb, and furniture in their houses. With these two we had the company of the two pastors, and a doctor of physick. After some silence, I proposed this question to them: 'What was it that induced them to separate from the common way they formerly lived in? I desired them that they would be pleased to be plain

‘ and open with me, as to the ground of their separation; for I came not to cavil, but in a Christian spirit to be informed.

Upon this, Ivon, the chief pastor, gave us the history of J. de Labadie’s education; how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion; and finally, of his great dissatisfaction with the Protestant churches of France, and that if God would not give them a purer church, they three would sit down by themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world. Adding several solemn appeals concerning the simplicity and integrity of their hearts in these things.

Ivon having done, A. M. S. began in this manner: ‘ I find myself constrained to add a short testimony. She told us of her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in; but confessed she knew not God nor Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke, as by the ministry of J. de Labadie. She saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death: she resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world, among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very serious and broken sense, not without *some trembling*. These are but short hints of what she said.

After she had done, one of the Somerdykes began, in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a sense that very well suited her contempt of the world: she told us how often she had mourned from her young years, because she did not know the Lord as she desired; often saying within herself, ‘ If God would make known to me his way, I would trample upon all the pride and glory of the world.’ She earnestly expressed the frequent anguish of spirit she had,

had, because of the deadness and formality of the Christians she was bred among, saying to herself, ‘ O the pride, O the lusts, O the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? O no! O God, where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee, that will follow thee? Make me one of that number. And when the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie, came into Holland, I, among others, had a curiosity to hear him; and among several others was deeply affected by him. He spoke the very thoughts of my heart: methought my heart was pricked when I heard him; and I resolved, by the grace of God, to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, to be one of those that should sit down with him in a separation from the vain and dead worships of this world. I count myself happy that I ever met with him, and these pastors, who seek not themselves, but the Lord: and we are a family that live together in love; of one soul and one spirit, entirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the greatest joy in the world.’

After, Du Lignon, the other pastor, gave us also an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not so lively.

After him the doctor of physick, that had been bred for a priest, but voluntarily refused that calling, expressed himself after this manner: ‘ I can also bear my testimony, in the presence of God, that though I lived in as much reputation at the university, as any of my colleagues or companions, and was well reputed for sobriety and honesty, yet I never felt such a living sense of God, as when I heard the servant of the Lord J. de Labadie:’ adding, ‘ The first day I heard him, I was so struck and affected, that I can truly say, through the good grace of God, and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as the day of my salvation; he did so livingly touch my heart with a sense of the true Christian worship:
‘ upon

‘ upon which I forsook the university, and resolved to
 ‘ be one of this family; and this I can say in the fear
 ‘ of the Lord.’

P. Ivon concluded, ‘ This is what we have to say
 ‘ concerning the work of God amongst us.’

All this while I minded not so much their words, as I felt and had unity with a measure of divine sense that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongst them; yea, I had a living sense in my heart that somewhat of the breath of life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great mixtures, yet that God’s love was towards them.

After some silence, I began on this wise:

I come not to judge you, but to visit you; not to quarrel or dispute, but to speak of the things of God’s kingdom; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you: wherefore hear me with Christian patience and tenderness.

I do confess and believe that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongst you: that it was his Spirit that gave you a sight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you sensible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this sense I love and honour; and I am so far from undervaluing or opposing this tender sense I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to visit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the score of your separation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I respect you for, being well acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards those that retire out of it.

Now since I have with patience, and I can truly say with great satisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Christian freedom to tell you mine, to the end you may have some sense of the work of God in *me*: for those who are come to any measure of a divine sense, they are as looking-glasses to each other, as face answereth face in a glass.

Here

Here I began to let them know how, and when, the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the divine impressions he gave me of himself: of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery: of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world; of the *irreligiousness* of the religions of 'it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him, that he would shew me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world *overtook* me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the 'primitive spirit and church on the 'earth;' and being ready to faint concerning my 'hope of the restitution of all things.'

It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal word, through one of those the world calls *Quakers*, namely THOMAS LOE. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the investiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions: what a sign and wonder they made of me; but, above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against mine own inward vain affections and thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to speak of the mystery of iniquity and ungodliness in the root and ground, and to give them an account of the power and presence of God which attended us in our publick testimonies and sufferings; after an indirect manner censuring their weaknesses, by declaring and commending

mending the contrary practices among friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my sufferings and trials by magistrates, parents, companions, and, above all, from the priests of the false religions in the world, the Lord hath preserved me to this day, and hath given me an hundred fold in this world, as well as the assurance of life everlasting: informing them of the tenderness of my father to me, before, and at, his death; and how, through patience and long-suffering, all opposition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wise.

That since God had given me and them a divine sense of him, our eye should be to him, not to man; that we might come more into a silence of ourselves, and a growth into that heavenly sense. That this was the work of the true ministry, not to keep people to *themselves*, ever teaching them, but to turn them to God, the new-covenant Teacher, and to CHRIST, the great Gospel-Minister. Thus John did, and thought it no dishonour that they left *him* to go to *Christ*." "Behold the Lamb of God," said he, "that taketh away the sin of the world!" And even John's disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, John testifies of himself, "That *he* was to "*decrease*," and Christ was to *increase*. Wherefore I pressed them to have their eye to CHRIST that taketh away the sin; that is, from heaven, heavenly; to see that He increase in them. Yea, "that henceforth they should know no man after "the *flesh*; no, not Christ himself." That their knowledge of, and regard and fellowship with, one another, should stand in the revelation of the Son of God in them; who is God's Great Prophet, by whom God speaketh in these latter days. And if their ministers be true ministers, they will count it their glory to give way to Christ, and that they decrease, and Christ increase; that the instrument giveth way to him that useth it, the servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the ministers, yet it was, and is, the glory of a true minister, that God and Christ

should be *all in all*, and that his will should be fulfilled. For I told them, "The day of the Lord God *was come*," and all people must look to him for salvation: that all people must now come to keep God's great *sabbath*, to rest from *mere man*, and the spirit of man, and all mens thoughts, words, and works; and that if they were true believers, they were, at least, "*entering into their rest*."

I closely recommended it to them, that they might not be of those that begin in the spirit, and end in the flesh; for that those that should do so, and thereby break God's sabbath-day, would be stoned to death, by the "stone which is cut out of the mountain without hands;" yea, that should fall upon them as a mill-stone, and grind them to powder. Therefore let CHRIST have his honour; let *him* preach and speak *among* you, and *in you*, and you in *him*; and by *him only* sigh, groan, pray, preach, sing, and not otherwise, lest death come over you: for thereby the apostacy came in, by their going before *Christ*, instead of Christ going before *them*.

And wait in the light and spirit of judgment that hath visited you, that all may be wrought out that is not born of God; so will you come to be born of the incorruptible seed, of the word of God that liveth and abideth for ever: that you may be an holy priesthood, that offers up a living sacrifice with God's heavenly fire, that God may have his honour in you all, and through all, by Jesus Christ. And turning myself towards the Somerdykes, with a serious and tender spirit, I thus expressed myself: 'That you should be pilgrims in the inheritance of your Father, I have a deep and reverent sense of: O that you might dwell with him for ever, and exalt him that hath so visited you, with whom are the rewards of eternal blessedness.'

So I left the blessing and peace of Jesus among them, departing in the love and peace of God: and I must needs say they were, beyond expectation, tender and respectful to us: all of them coming with us,
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except the ancient A. M. S. (who is not able to walk) to the outward door; giving us their hands in a friendly manner, expressing their great satisfaction in our visit. And being come to the porch, and meeting several persons of the family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the presence of the rest, to keep to *Christ*, that had given them a sense of the spirit of this world, and had raised desires in them to be delivered from it! And to know no man after the flesh, but to have their fellowship in *Christ*, union and communion with *God*, and one with another; that all their worship and performances might stand in *him*, that *he* might be *all in all*: desiring that the Lord might keep them in his fear all the days of their appointed time, that so they might serve him in their generation, in his own universal Spirit, to his glory, who is blessed for ever.

The Lord comforted my soul in this service: yea, all that is within me magnified his holy name, because of his blessed presence that was with us! O let my soul trust in the Lord, and confide in him for ever! O let me dwell and abide with him that is faithful and true, and blessed for evermore!

The two pastors and the doctor came with us a field's length, where we took waggon; and the chief of them took occasion to ask me, 'If the truth rose not at first amongst a *poor, illiterate, and simple* sort of people?' I told him, 'Yes; that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world: 'Then,' said he, 'Let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth; for scholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix school-learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of the testimony.' I told him, it was good for us all to have a care of our own spirits, words and works; confessing what he said had weight in it; telling him, it was our care to write and speak according to the divine sense, and not human invention.

So in a very sober and serious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

This night about ten we got to Lippenhusen, where there is a little meeting of friends, being about 25 English miles.

The next morning^c we had a blessed meeting among friends; many of the world came in, were very serious and well affected; one whereof was a magistrate of the place. The Lord pleads his own cause, and crowns his own testimony with his own power. There is like to be a fine gathering in that place.

After dinner we took waggon for the city of Groningen, where we arrived at eight at night, being about 25 English miles.

The next morning^d we had a meeting among friends of that city, whither resorted both collegian and Calvinist students, who behaved themselves soberly: the Lord's power was over all, and his testimony stands. When meeting was ended, they went out; and as I was concluding an exhortation to friends, came in a flock of students to have had some conference with us: but having set the time of our leaving the city, we recommended them to the universal love of God, promising them some books of our principles, with which they expressed themselves satisfied, and civilly parted from us.

After dinner we took boat for Delfzyl, and came thither about six at night. The next morning^e about seven, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues. On board of that vessel it came upon me to write a letter to friends in England, concerning the present separatists, and their spirit of separation, which had several times been opened unto me, and had remained some days upon my spirit. The letter followeth.

^c 14. 7. 6. ^d 15. 7. 7. ^e 16. 7. 1.

To

To friends every where, concerning the present separatists, and their spirit of separation.

Friends and brethren,

BY a mighty hand, and by an out-stretched arm, hath the Lord God everlasting gathered us to be a people, and in his own power and life hath he preserved us a people unto this day: and praises be to his eternal name, no weapon that hath yet been formed against us, either from without, or from within, hath prospered.

Now this I say unto you, and that in his counsel that hath visited us; Whoever go out of the unity with their brethren, are first gone out of unity with the power and life of God in themselves, in which the unity of the brethren standeth; and the least member of the body in the unity standeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment against them; unto which judgment, of both great and small amongst the living family that in the unity are preserved, they must bow, before they can come into the unity again: yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the life and power of God in themselves; which is the holy root that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves; all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nourished unto God's praise.

And let all have a care how they weaken that, or bring that under the exaltation and high imagination of those that it is revealed against. For I feel that unruly spirit is tormented under the stroke and judgment of the power, and in its subtlety is seeking occasion against the instruments, by whom the power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this spirit in those workings; for by being one with this spirit in judging those that have been faithful, according to the gift of wisdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it against the

power itself, and at last run out, and become open enemies and despisers; for whom is reserved the blackness and darkness for ever, unless they repent.

Wherefore all that labour for the restoration of those that are out of the unity with the brethren, let them be such as are of a sound mind themselves: else, what will they gather to? Or, what will they gather from? And let them labour in the simplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the power that first gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure; but that which is obtained by the contrivance, interest, and persuasions of men, getteth no farther than man, and is of the flesh; and what is of the flesh, is fleshly, and shall never inherit the kingdom of God.

Therefore let none look out of the seed for help; for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment stands for ever; and that seed only hath God ordained to bruise the serpent's head. They that would save it, and those that would bruise it by any other thing, are breakers of God's great ordinance, and fly to *Egypt* for strength. For it is *David*, the stripling, that shall be too hard for *Goliath* the giant; and that not by "Saul's armour," but with "God's "living little stone, cut out of the mountain without "hands;" without man's invention and contrivance. Oh, this hath wrought all our mighty works in us, and for us, to this day! Wherefore let us be still, and trust and confide therein for ever. Let none look back, faint, or consult; for if they do, they will darken their pure eye, and lose their way, and into the eternal rest of the flocks of the companions will never come.

Brethren; the judgment given forth against this spirit, and all those that have resisted our love and forbearance that are joined to it, must *stand*; and all that are out of our unity with the judgment, are *judged* by it: therefore as all would stand before the Lord, and his people, let not this spirit be reasoned withal; enter not into proposals and articles with it,
but

but feed it with judgment, that is God's decree: so may the souls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

My brethren, look forwards, and lift up your eyes, for the fields are even white unto harvest, up and down the nations. Remember the great name of the Lord, and behold the great work that he is doing before all people; whose saving health is visiting the world, and whose eternal word and testament must from among us go forth to gather the nations. "Let *that* that "will be unjust, be unjust still; let the dead bury "the dead:" let us all, who have received the gift from God, wait in deep humility, to be raised up and empowered by him more and more, to eye and prosecute his universal service in the world, to whose appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles shall bring their glory: which noble work had those that are gone into the separation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have sat at home murmuring, fretting, and quarrelling against the comely and godly order and practice of their brethren: but love, peace, and joy had filled their hearts, and not the "troubler and "accuser of the brethren;" who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a discontented self-separating mind; and this image they bear, and the pure eye sees it.

O let none tempt the Lord! let none provoke the eyes of his jealousy: let us all dwell in that divine sense that he hath begotten in us; where our love, as a fresh and pure stream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here "all his ways are pleasantness, "and all his paths are peace;" for where *he* keepeth the house, who is Prince of peace, he will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one family, and therefore we have but one Lord and Master. We are but as one flock, and we have but one heavenly shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow him. If any are offended in *him*, or in *his*, it is their own fault: if they faint and

grow weary; we are truly sorry: if, through unwatchfulness, the enemy hath entered, and begotten coldness to the brethren, and carelessness of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increased; so that what is done by the brethren without them, is looked upon first with a *slight* eye, and then with an *evil* eye, which begets *distance*, and this distance, in time, a *separation*; and separation continued bringeth forth enmity, and this enmity *death itself*; we are in our spirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God must stand against them, and that spirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God, but to themselves: and wo to them that strengthen their hands, and despise counsel; they will have much to answer for before the Lord. I feel a slighting, scornful, laughing spirit often flying at me with its venomous sting; but the seed of life is over it, and the Lord God will destroy it.

Wherefore, friends, in all places where this spirit hath had entrance, keep sound judgment upon it, if you will keep your garments clean: and enter not into disputes and contests with it; it is that it seeketh and loveth: but go on in your testimony and business for the Lord, in the Lord's peaceable power and spirit, and his blessing and presence of life shall be with you; and in multiplying he shall multiply you; for no good thing will he withhold from you. We can say it of a truth, "God is good to Israel, and to all that are of an upright heart." And let us be of good cheer; for it is God's determination, that "the house of David should grow stronger and stronger," and "His branch shall increase and spread, and of *his* government, kingdom, and dominion there shall be no end."

Your faithful friend and brother, in the service of our dear Lord,

W. P.

God's

God's blessed work increaseth and prospereth in these lands; magnified be his everlasting name.

From on board the passage-boat between Delfzyl and Embden, the 16th of the seventh month, 1677.

We arrived at Embden about the 11th hour: this is the city where friends have been so bitterly and barbarously used, the like hath scarcely been known in any place where truth hath broke forth in our day; they having here been banished some 30, and some 40 times and above. The first family that received truth in this city, was doctor John William Haesbert, a physician, and his wife; at whose house also the first meeting was set up among friends to wait upon the Lord, by way of publick testimony. They are now both dead, but the memory of their fidelity is as precious ointment among the righteous.

They were with me at a meeting six years ago, in this city; and I remember the power of the Lord had that operation upon them, that I said to B. F. and T. R. then with me, 'It will not be long before they will publickly own and bear testimony in this place:' and about three months after, he came forth, and she about a year after him. And from their fidelity and integrity, notwithstanding all the sore and bitter tempest of persecution, a fine meeting sprang; but at this day they are scattered, being still sent away as fast as they return.

We visited his mother's family, where we found three of his sisters in the love of truth; his fourth sister being also a friend, and is wife of J. C. living at Amsterdam. We had a little sweet comfortable meeting with them. After it, I returned to my lodging; and as I was writing to doctor Andrews, president of the council of state, (who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our friends) a burden came upon me; my writing would not serve turn; I must go myself, in the fear and name of the Lord, to plead the

the innocent and suffering cause of our friends with him.

So away we went to his house : he was at first astonished to see what manner of men we were ; but after a little time he comported himself with more kindness than we expected at his hand. I asked him, ‘ If he
‘ and the senate had not received a letter in Latin
‘ from an Englishman about two years since, concern-
‘ ing their severity towards the people called Quakers?’ He told me he had. I replied, ‘ I was the man, and
‘ I was constrained in conscience to visit him on their
‘ behalf ; and I could not see how he, being a com-
‘ monwealth’s man, and a Protestant, could perse-
‘ cute.’

I pleaded the unnaturalness, the unchristianity, and imprudence of such proceedings, and pressed our reasons earnestly, but tenderly upon him. He assaulted us with several objections ; but, blessed be the Lord, they were mostly fictitious, and therefore easily removed and answered. He also promised me, that if I would write to the senate a remonstrance of the case of our friends, and express my request to them, and inclose it to him, he would both present it, and get it to be read, and make it appear that he was not so much our enemy as we looked upon him to be. I promised to send him some books containing a defence of our principles, which were accordingly put into the hands of Elizabeth Haesbert, to deliver him in my name.

Having taken our leave of the old woman and her daughters, and a man-friend residing in that city, and left the blessing and peace of our God amongst them, we took ship for Lier, where we arrived the next morning.^f Thence we took waggon for Bremen, where we came safe,^g through the Lord’s goodness, the next day ;^h where we met our friends and companions, G. K. and B. F. who came thither some hours before us from Amsterdam. In this city there is a work of

^f 17. 7. 2. ^g 18. 7. 3.

the Lord begun, though yet obscurely: we had a travail upon our spirits, that the blessed and precious truth of our dear Lord and Master might find a place to rest its foot upon.

To that purpose we wrote to two ministers,^b under some suffering from their brethren, because of their great zeal against the formality and deadness of the, so called, reformed churches. This we sent by a merchant, whom we formerly met at Herwerden. With some difficulty we got to them, but the person chiefly struck at was shy to speak with us: his reason was this: 'It was known that we were in town; and it was
' one of the accusations against him, that he was a
' fosterer of all the strange religions that came through
' the town. Also he was then actually under process;
' and that the people that had heard of the innocency
' of his cause, conceived a prejudice against our
' name, though it might be without cause: therefore
' he could not at present confer with us, and said, he
' was sorry for it with all his heart; but what we
' should say to his brother, should be the same as if
' it had been said to him; to whom he referred us.'

However, I took hold of his arm, and said, I have this message to deliver to thee, that I may disburden myself before the Lord; which was this: 'Mind that
' which hath touched thy heart; let that guide thee;
' and do not thou order *that*: consult not with flesh
' and blood how to maintain that cause, which flesh
' and blood in thy enemies persecuteth thee *for*.' He answered, 'Rather than I will betray that cause, or
' desert Christ, by God's strength, they shall pull my
' flesh off my bones.' So he left us in his house; and truly we had a good time with his companion, the other minister, about three hours, testifying unto him, That the day was come, and coming, in which the Lord would gather out of all sects (that stand in the oldness of the letter) into his own Holy Spirit, life,

and power; and that in this the unity of faith and bond of peace should stand. And therefore that he, and all of them, should have an eye to the principle of God in themselves; that being turned *to* it, they might speak *from* it; and that therein they would glorify God, and be edified. So we parted, leaving the man in a sensible and savoury frame. We visited the merchant twice, and had a very good time with him: the man is of a loving and sensible spirit, and the love of God opened our hearts to him.

We also visited doctor Johan Sophrony Cozack, an odd compositum of a man. He has had great and strange openings; he hath writ several scores of tracts; he is a great enemy to the priests, and in society with none; of a merry, yet of a rough disposition; without any method or decency in his clothes, food, furniture, and entertainment. He wants but three of fourscore, yet of a wonderful vigour and pregnancy.

We were twice with him, and we have reason to think he was as loving to us as to any body. And truly he did shew at parting some serious and hearty kindness: but we could fasten little upon him as to God's power, or any inward sense of us or our testimony: yet we had little to object against what he said; nay, some things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to doctor Bellingham, an English physician, a man of a lowly and tender spirit, who received us in much love, lamenting, when we left him, that he had no more time with us.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of truth, and we must needs say, we were heard with patience and sobriety; particularly by a doctor of law, who lodged at the house, and an ancient man of Kiel in Holstein. We left books amongst them all, and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them on the fifth day after dinner, and began our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the princess, where we arrived on the seventh day in
the

the morning,¹ every way well, through the mercies of the Lord. We sent to inform her of our arrival, and to know what hour it would be convenient for us to visit her; who returned us this answer, 'That being then employed in the business of her government, it would be the second hour in the afternoon before she could be at leisure.'

The time being come, we went to visit her, and found both her and the countess ready to receive us; which they did with much love and tenderness. I observed them to be much lower in their spirits than ever, and that our former blessed opportunities had had a blessed effect upon them. That afternoon was employed in the narrative of our travels, which they heard with great attention and refreshment. The whole discourse ended with a precious little meeting. The house being clear of strangers, they both earnestly pressed us to sup with them; which being not well able to decline, we submitted to.

At supper the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a *true supper* to us, for the hidden *manna* was manifested and broken among us; yea, a blessed meeting it proved to us: O the reverent tenderness and lowly frame of spirit that appeared this evening, both in the princefs and countess. The Frenchwoman we found greatly improved, both in her love and understanding; yea, she was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on these occasions. After supper we returned to the princefs's chamber, where we stayed till it was about ten at night. At parting I desired the princefs would give us such another opportunity next day, being the first day of the week, as we had the last time we were with her: she answered me, 'With all my heart; but will ye not come in the morning too?' I replied, 'Yes, willingly: what time wilt thou be ready to receive us?' She answered, 'At seven.'

¹ 22. 7. 7.

About seven the next morning^k we came; about eight the meeting began, and held till eleven: several persons of the city, as well as those of her own family, being present. The Lord's power very much affected them, and the countess was twice much broken while we spoke. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to speak to those two, the princess and the countess, with respect to their particular conditions, occasioned by these words from the princess; 'I am *fully convinced*; 'but O my sins are great!'

Whilst I was speaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully rose, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their spirits; especially the countess's, so that she was broken to pieces: God hath raised, and I hope fixed, his own testimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the second meeting on that day, which began about the second hour in the afternoon: and truly, the reverent, blessed, sure word of life was divided aright, and a precious sense of truth was raised in the meeting. There came more of the city than in the morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's power that was with us. For the truth had passage, and the hungry were satisfied, and the simple-hearted deeply affected.

This day at both meetings was one of the princess's women, that never was at a meeting before, and she (though very shy of us the last time) became tender and loving to us; she was truly reached. O, magnified be the name of the Lord, whose presence was with us, and whose arm stood by us! After meeting the princess pressed us to stay and sup with her, pleading the quietness of the family, and that they were alone. At supper (as the night before) it was upon me to commemorate the goodness of the Lord, his daily providences, and how precious he is, in the co-

^k 23. 7. 1.

venant of light, to the dear children and followers of the light. Great was the reverence and tenderness that was upon the spirits of both princefs and countefs at that instant. After supper we returned to the princefs's chamber, where we spent the rest of our time, in holy silence, or discourse, till about the tenth hour, and then we repaired to our quarters.

Next morning¹ about eight we returned to the court, where the princefs and countefs were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very serious relation, touching the affairs, practice, and sufferings of our friends in England, with which they seemed greatly affected; when, about the eleventh hour, a rattling of a coach interrupted us. The countefs immediately stepped out to see what was the matter, and returned with a countenance somewhat uneasy, telling us, that the young princes, nephews to the princefs and the graef of Donaw, were come to visit her. Upon which I told them we should withdraw, and return to our lodging; but intreated, that forasmuch as we were to depart that night with the post-waggon, we might not be disappointed of a farewell meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my spirit: which they readily complied with, telling me, these persons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the countefs stepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I passed by, she looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep sigh, crying out, 'O the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! They hinder all good.' Upon which I replied, looking her stedfastly in the face, 'O come thou out of them then!'

After we had dined at our lodging, something being upon me to write to the professors of religion in that country, I went up to my chamber, that I might be the more retired. Just as I was about the conclusion of the paper, came the steward of the house from

the princeſs, with this meſſage, ‘ That the princeſs
‘ intreated us to come to her, for the graef of Do-
‘ naw had a great deſire to ſee us, and to ſpeak with
‘ us.’ This brought a freſh weight and exerciſe upon
us; but committing all to the Lord, and caſting our
care upon him, we went.

Being arrived, the graef approached us in French:
at firſt he took no notice of our inceremonious beha-
viour, but proceeded to enquire of us our ſucceſs
in our journey, and what we found answering our
journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of
religion, and the nature and end of true Chriſtianity,
and what was the way that leadeth to the eternal reſt.
After ſome ſhort debate about complete ſanctification
in this life, we both agreed, that ſelf-denial, mortifi-
cation, and victory, was the duty, and therefore ought
to be the endeavour, of every ſincere Chriſtian.

From this I fell to give him ſome account of my
retreat from the world, and the inducements I had
thereto, and the neceſſity of an inward work; with
which he ſeemed much pleaſed. After this he fell to
the hat, &c. This choketh, and the rather, becauſe
it telleth tales: it telleth what people are; it marketh
men for ſeparatiſts; it is blowing a trumpet, viſibly
croſſing the world; and that the fear of man (greatly
prevalent with too many ſerious people in that land)
cannot abide, ſtarteth at, and runneth away from.
Howbeit, the Lord enabled me to open the thing to
him; as that it was no plant of God’s planting, but
a weed of degeneracy and apoſtacy; a carnal and
earthly honour; the effect, feeder, and pleaſer of
pride, and of a vain mind, and that no advantage re-
dounded to mankind by it; and how could they,
that ought to do all to the glory of God, uſe that
vain and unprofitable cuſtom, which cannot be done
to the glory of God? I intreated him ſeriously to
conſider with himſelf the riſe and end of it; whence
it came, what it pleaſed, and what that was that was
angry it had it not.

I alſo

I also told him of the sincere and serviceable respect which truth substituteth in place thereof: and I exhorted him to simplicity and poverty of spirit; to be like that Jesus he professed to be his Saviour, whose outside, as well as doctrine, pleased not the Jews; and so we parted. He took his leave of the princess, and then of us with great civility.

After he was gone, the princess desired us to withdraw to her bed-chamber, and there we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and, eternally magnified be the name of the Lord that overshadowed us with his glory, his heavenly, breaking, dissolving power richly flowed amongst us, and his ministring angel of life was in the midst of us. Let my soul never forget the divine sense that overwhelmed all. At that blessed farewell I took of them, much opened in me of the hour of Christ's temptation, his watchfulness, perseverance and victory: also about the ten virgins, what the true virgin was, the true oil and lamp; and what the bridegroom, his door, chamber, and supper: and in the conclusion of that torrent of heavenly, melting love with which we were all deeply affected, I fell on my knees, recommending them unto the Lord, crying with strong cries to him for their preservation, and beseeching the Lord's presence with us, and so ended.

After some pause, I went to the princess, and took her by the hand, which she received and embraced with great signs of a weighty kindness, being much broken: I spoke a few words apart to her, and left the blessing and peace of Jesus with and upon her. Then I went to the countess, and left a particular exhortation with her, who fervently beseeched me to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf. From her I went to the Frenchwoman, and bid her be faithful and constant to that which she knew: she was exceedingly broken, and took an affectionate and reverent leave of us.

Then I spoke to the rest, and took leave severally of them; my companions did all the like. They followed us to the outward room, and there it was upon me to step to the countess, and once more to speak to her, and take my leave of her, which she received and returned with great sense, humility and love. So turning to them all, my heart and eye to the Lord, I prayed that the fear, presence, love and life of God, with all heavenly blessings, might descend and rest with and upon them, then, and for ever.

Home we went to our lodging, cleared the house, exhorted the family, left books, and then took waggon for Wesel, about 200 English miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days without lying down on a bed, or sleeping, otherwise than in the waggon, which was only covered with an old ragged sheet.^a The company we had with us, made twelve in number, which much streightened us: they were often, it not always, vain; yea, in their religious songs, which is the fashion of that country, especially by night; they call them Luther's songs, and sometimes psalms. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their hypocrisy, to be full of all vain, and often profane talk one hour, and sing psalms to God the next; we shewed them the deceit and abomination of it. We passed through several great towns by the way, as Lipstad, Ham, &c. Many discourses we had of truth, and the religion and worship that was truly Christian, and all was very well; they bore what we said. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted: I had not been six hours in the waggon, before an heavy weight and unusual oppression fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almost to the grave, that I could almost say, 'My soul was sad even unto death.' I knew not at present the ground of this exercise; it remained about twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the seed of God, that it might arise over all in them I left behind,

^a 25. 7. 3. 26. 7. 4.

and that nothing might be lost but the son of perdition. O the strong cries, and deep agonies, many tears and sincere bowings and humblings of soul before the Lord, that his holy sense, which was raised in them, might be preserved alive in them, and they for ever in it! That they might grow and spread as heavenly plants of righteousness, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

The narrative from the 27th of the 7th month inclusive, to the 10th of the 8th month exclusive, is inserted in the following letter to the countess of Hornes.

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, stiled Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My dear friend,

O That thou mayest for ever dwell in the sweet and tender sense of that divine love and life which hath visited thy soul, affected and overcome thy heart! O tell me, hath it not sometimes raised thy spirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and passionate desires, yea, holy resolutions, to follow Jesus thy blessed Saviour, who hath given his most precious blood for thee, that thou shouldest not live to thyself, but to him that hath so dearly purchased thee?

O the retired, humble, reverent frame that I have beheld thee in, when this blessed life hath drawn thee into itself, and adorned and seasoned thee with its own heavenly virtue; beautifying thy very countenance beyond all the vain and foolish ornaments of the wanton daughters of Sodom and Egypt; for therein are charms not known to the children of this world.

O that this holy and chaste life may be always precious with thee! And that thou mayest be for ever chastely kept in the love and fellowship of it! That out of this world's nature, spirit, and practice, thou mayest be redeemed, by him who is the way, the

truth, and the life; who, as thou watchest with holy vigilance, will not only daily manifest the devices of the enemy to thee, but save thee from him. For Christ's work in thee is thy sanctification, as it is in him his Father's will, as Paul said of old to the believers, "This is the will of God, even your sanctification."

My dearly beloved friend, be steadfast, immovable, without wavering; and work out thy great salvation with fear and trembling; and lose not that sweet and precious sense that the Lord hath begotten in thee: it is soon lost, at least weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore let not the spirit of the world, in any of its appearances, vain company, unnecessary discourse, or words, or worldly affairs, prevail upon the civility of thy nature; for they will oppress the innocent life, and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy soul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookest for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. O beware of this compliance! Let me put thee in mind of that sensible resolution so frequently and so passionately repeated by thee; '*Il faut que je rompe, Il faut que je rompe.*' Ah! this speaketh a weight, this weight a sense, and this sense a strong conviction. Now be assured, that till obedience be yielded to that present manifestation and conviction, the good things desired and thirsted after can never be enjoyed.

Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch against the workings of the spirit of this world in thyself; that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayest know an entire translation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jesus, the holy light, is this cross and power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and he is the heavenly Vine too: if thou abidest in him, thou wilt bring forth fruit; but if thou abidest not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit, in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified. O see what the mind daily abideth in! O my soul is even ravished with the sense of that holy and quiet habitation! "In me," saith he,
"you

= “ you shall have peace, but in the world trouble;
 = “ however, be of good cheer, I have overcome the
 . “ world; I am not of the world:” as if he had said,
 : “ I am not of the world’s ways, worships, customs, or
 = “ fashions; for whatever is of the nature and spirit of
 : “ this world, hath no part in *me*: and as I am not of
 : “ this world, neither are *you* of this world; for I have
 : “ chosen you *out* of the world; out of the inventions,
 : “ out of the worships, and fashions of the world.
 : “ You are to leave them all, to come out of them all;
 : “ and live and walk as pilgrims in the world; that is,
 : “ strangers: To what? To the life and practice of the
 : “ world; not using, but renouncing, the vain customs
 : “ and ceremonies, yea, the whole conversation of the
 : “ world, remembering that the friendship of this world
 : “ is enmity with God. And what if the world hate
 : “ you, it hated me *first*; and the disciple is not greater
 : “ than his Master, nor the servant than his Lord: if
 : “ you were of the world, the world would *love* you,
 : “ and not reproach and persecute you; for the world
 : “ loveth *its own*.’ O my dear friend, that thou mayest
 be perfectly sensible what it is, not to be of this
 world.

But there is yet a farther mystery in these words,
 not discerned even of many in whom some ten-
 derness and inquiry is begotten, much less of the
 worldly Christians. This world hath a false earth,
 and a false heaven, a false foundation, and a false
 joy: not only gross wickedness, but iniquity in a
 mystery inwardly and outwardly. The whore, false
 prophet, and dragon, and all their offspring are here
 concerned. This is their world, that must be burnt
 with fire, that Christ is not of, nor his true disciples.
 O the light of Jesus discovereth it! And he is that
 spiritual Solomon, that giveth true judgment, and
 that saveth the living child, the true birth; giving it
 to the right mother, and not to the false pretender.
 And all that hear his voice, and follow him, shall re-
 ceive true light, discerning and judgment, to whom

all judgment is given : they shall know his voice from man's.

There are two trees, of differing natures, that have contrary fruits and leaves. The one is the *tree of life*, which is *Christ*; the other, the *tree of death*, and that is *Satan*. The fruit of the one giveth *life*; the fruit of the other bringeth *death*: the leaves of the first *beal*; the leaves of the last *poison*. Many that discern the tree, cannot clearly distinguish the branches; and those that see many arms and branches, cannot distinctly behold the leaves, much less the fruit. This cometh by the gradual discoveries and revelations of the light of Jesus, the word of God, as it is daily received, and daily obeyed. Yea, and that word is the *axe* and *sword* of the Almighty, to cut it down; daily feel the strokes of this eternal searching light and word at the very root of this corrupt tree, this evil one, and his corrupt nature, works and effects. For which end Jesus Christ is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in truth to the Christians of this world.

Ah! my dear friend, thou knowest this word, yea, thou hast felt it: O hide it in thy heart! Treasure it up in thy soul, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas! Whither shouldst thou go? This hath the *words*, and is the *word*, of eternal life: daily, therefore, watch and wait, that thou mayest be grafted more into it; that thou mayest live and grow by the virtue and life of it, and that it may grow in thy heart, as it grew among the first Christians, the holy followers of the persecuted Jesus. And when it searcheth thy wound, and cutteth away thy dead flesh; yea, when it separateth between the soul, and the spirit of this world, and divideth between joints and marrow, when it cutteth off the right hand, and plucketh out the right eye; O watch unto prayer, and pray that thou mayest endure! O keep the holy patience of this pure and living word; and this very word will *keep thee* in the hour of thy sharpest trials, and sorest tribulations! *All virtue is in it!* It is a *tried word*, a *sure refuge*, the *staff*

staff and *strength* of the righteous in all ages. It was David's *teacher* and *buckler*; a *light* to his feet, and a *lantborn* to his paths. Walk thou in the light thereof, and thou shalt not stumble: "In this word is life (as "in the root) and this life is the light of men." They that receive and love the light of it, will therein receive divine life from it to live to God. This is the *bread* of *God*, that cometh from God, and feedeth, and leadeth up to God: by this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nourished: this is that carcase to which the wise eagles gather; and see thou gatherest to no other, and feedest on no other. This is that *bidden manna*, that cometh from heaven; that feedeth God's gospel Israel. The world hath a manna, but it perisheth; but this endureth for ever: for it is not of *man*, nor from *man*, but immortal, and from God; *bid* from the knowledge of all the vain Christians in the world: so that the Israel of God can say to the children of this world, and that in truth and righteousness, "We have a bread you know not of." For this manna wait daily, that thou mayest be strengthened in thy wilderness-travel to the land of eternal rest.

Wherefore "labour not for the bread that perisheth;" that is, the bread of man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, because it giveth not life eternal. But labour thou, my dear friend, for the bread that *never* perisheth, that endureth for *ever*, and that giveth life eternal to all that feed upon it. O cast thy care upon this word; love it, and dwell with it; wait daily upon it, hear its voice only, and follow it, for it bringeth the soul to the eternal habitation of rest and glory. Yea, when all flesh shall wither, and the beauty thereof fade away, this word, and they that are grafted into it, "shall "abide for ever." O that this may be thy *choice*, and it shall be thy *diadem*, and thy *eternal crown* of *glory*.

These are the fervent desires, and these the daily prayers of my soul, to the God of my salvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be lost, be-

sides the son of perdition ; but that thou mayest “ cast
 “ off every weight and burden, and that sin that
 “ doth so easily beset thee ;” that grieveth, boweth,
 and oppresseth thee ; under the heavy weight of which
 thou groanest, and sighest that thy Redeemer would
 come from Zion to deliver thee. O give not heed to
 the enemy, the *false accuser*, that seeketh to devour
 that which is begotten of God in thee : neither look
 upon thine own sins, burdens, or weaknesses ; but lift
 up thy head, and look to Jesus, the author of thy
 blessed visitation, and wholly hunger and thirst after
 him, the *spiritual brazen serpent*, that healeth and re-
 lieveth all that in faith and full assurance look to him.
 Want of looking to him, hearing and obeying him,
 and having *true faith* in him, is the cause both of all
 the presumption and despair that are at this day. He
 did no mighty things of old in those places where
 they *believed* not.

O faint not ; look not back ; remember the holy
 ancients, the holy pilgrims of faith, the royal genera-
 tion of heaven ! Heb. xi. Thou believest in God ;
 believe also in *him*, for the *work*’s sake that he has al-
 ready wrought in thee : he will minister to thee, as
 he was ministered unto by his Father’s angels in the
 hour of his abasement and great temptation. O watch,
 and be faithful, and thou shalt be a noble witness for
 the Lord.

Once more let me expostulate with thee : wouldst
 thou overcome the enemies of thy soul’s peace, and
 enjoy the delightful presence of the Lord with thee ?
 then keep nothing back ; let nothing be with-held
 that he calleth for ; remember that Saul of old lost his
 kingdom, for keeping that alive which he should have
 slain : thou knowest what befel Ananias and Sapphira
 outwardly ; but be thou like the poor widow of old,
 that therefore gave more into the treasury than all the
 rest, because *they* reserved the *greatest* part to *them-*
selves ; but *she* gave *all she had*. O blessed are they
 that make no bargains for themselves ; that have no
 reserves for self ; neither consult with flesh and blood ;
 nor

nor in any sense conform to the least ceremony which is born of them; but that submit their wills, in all things, to the Lord's, that they may be made perfect through sufferings, as Christ was.

Read me in the mystery of life: I speak not of deserting, or flinging away all outward substance; but that thy heart may reign above all visibles, and make God its treasure, and never stick in any thing of this lower world, or rest short of CHRIST, the eternal rest of all the seed of faith.

Here beginneth the NARRATIVE.

THE Lord brought us well to Wesel on the fifth day after we left Herwerden, having some service by the way.^a At Wesel we had a good time with doctor Schuler, and Rosendale, and the woman we mentioned to thee; but the taylor was shy, and fearful of coming to us at the doctor's.

The next day^b we went towards Duyburgh: we visited the schult, or chief governor, that night, whom we found at home; he received us in much kindness. His wife and sister, we fear, have been shaken in their good testimony since we were last there; some fowls of the air have devoured the seed that was sown. O that sweet and tender frame in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the spirit of the schult, a little consoled us. Hence we sent Maria Martha's friend a letter, desiring him to let us have his answer the next night at Duffeldorp, inclosed to Neander, when and where we might see him, either at Duffeldorp, Mulheim, or Duyburgh, and if it were possible, we would gladly visit the countess of Bruch.

We got early to Duffeldorp next day,^c being the last day of the week: but Neander was gone to Mulheim in order to preach on the morrow; so that we were disappointed of our intelligence.

^a 28. 7. 6. ^b 29. 7. 7.

Next.

Next morning¹ we went towards Collen, and there arrived that evening.

The next day² we had a good opportunity with Van Dinando, and Docemius, at the house of the latter; and that afternoon took boat back for Dusseldorp: where arriving next morning,³ we presently sent for Neander; who came to us, and three more in company. We had a blessed meeting with them, and one of the three that came with him our souls were exceedingly affected with.

The meeting done, they went away, but Neander returned. And first, of our letter to Mulheim: we found by him, (as also at our return to Dussburgh) that Kuper was so far from endeavouring our visit to the countess, that he would not meet us himself, neither at Dusseldorp, Mulheim, or Dussburgh: nay, it did not please him to send us an answer, much less any the least salutation. I confess it grieved us now for Neander; the young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a visitation upon him; my soul desireth that it may not be ineffectual: but I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly, from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a cloud of witnesses to my brethren, that *retirement* and *silence* before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to arise, and come forth pure and unmixed. This *only* can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing else. But, alas! his office in that family is quite another thing; namely, to perform *set* duties, at fixed times: pray, preach, and sing, and that in the way of the world's appointment. His very office is Babylonish, namely, a chaplain; for it is a Popish invention.

In the good old times, godly Abraham, that was a prince, and Joshua a great general, and David a king, with many more, instructed their families in the knowledge and fear of God: but now people are too idle, or too great, to *pray for themselves*, and so they wor-

ship God by *proxy*. How can a minister of the gospel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his soul and conscience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itself is utterly wrong, and against the very nature and worship of the new and everlasting covenant. You had better meet to read the scriptures, the book of martyrs, &c. if you cannot sit and wait in *silence* upon the Lord, till his *angel move* upon your *hearts*, than to uphold such a formal, limited and ceremonious worship. This is not the way out of Babylon. And I have a deep sense upon my soul, that if the young man strive beyond the talent God hath given him, to answer his office, and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure and living word of God in his heart, to open his mouth, but either studieth for his sermons, or speaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

‘ Wherefore, O dear friend, have a care thou art
 ‘ no snare to him, nor he to thee! Man’s works smother and stifle the true life of Christ: what have you
 ‘ now to do but to look to Jesus, the author of the
 ‘ holy desires that are in you, who himself hath visited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God.
 ‘ What should any man preach *from*, but *Christ*? And
 ‘ what should he preach people *to*, but *Christ in them*,
 ‘ the hope of glory? Consider, nothing feedeth that
 ‘ which is *born* of God, but that which cometh down
 ‘ from God; even the bread of God, which is the *Son*
 ‘ of *God*, who giveth his life for the world. Feel it,
 ‘ and feed on it: let none mock God, or grieve his
 ‘ eternal Spirit, that is come to seal them up from the
 ‘ mouth of man that hath deceived them; that Jesus,
 ‘ the anointing, may teach them, and abide with them
 ‘ for ever.

‘ Be steadfast and immoveable; and this will draw
 ‘ the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him
 ‘ of himself, and purge away mixtures, and then you
 ‘ will all come to the *divine silence*. And when all
 ‘ flesh is *silent* before the Lord, then is it the *Lord’s*
 ‘ time to speak; and if you will *bear*, your souls shall
 ‘ live.

‘ *live.* O my soul is in great pain, that you may be
 ‘ all chafely preserved in that divine sense begotten
 ‘ in your hearts by the eternal word of God, that
 ‘ abideth for ever; that nothing may ever be able to
 ‘ extinguish it. But more especially that thou, my
 ‘ dear friend, mayest be kept in faithfulness: for the
 ‘ Lord is come very near to thee, and thou must begin
 ‘ the work, the Lord God expecteth at thy hand. If
 ‘ one sheep break through, the rest will follow: where-
 ‘ fore watch, O watch that thou mayest be strengthened
 ‘ and confirmed; and strengthen all that is begotten
 ‘ of God in that family, by thy weighty, savoury and
 ‘ circumspect life! O how is my soul affected with
 ‘ thy present condition! It is the fervent supplication
 ‘ of my heart, that thou mayest, through the daily
 ‘ obedience of the cross of Jesus, conquer and shine
 ‘ as a bright and glorious star in the firmament of
 ‘ God’s eternal kingdom. So let it be, Lōrd Jesus!
 ‘ Amen.’

We tenderly, yet freely, spoke our hearts to him, before we parted; which done, in God’s love we took our leave of him at Duffeldorp, and got that night to Dufsburch, being the third day of the week. We first visited Dr. Mastricht, a man of a good natural temper, but a rigid Calvinist. I perceived by him, that they held a consultation about seeing us at Bruch; but they all concluded it was best to decline meeting with us, because of the graef, he being ready to fling our name, in reproach, upon them, in his displeasure; and this would confirm him in his jealousies of them. This might excuse the countess, but by no means Kuper; and if I had any sense, Mastricht was there with them, upon design to frustrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We from that descended to other things of weight, and in love and peace parted.

From his house we returned to our inn; and after supper we visited the schult, who with much civility and some tenderness received us. His sister also came to us, and we had a good little meeting with them,
 . and

and our God was with us, and his pure and tender life appeared for our justification, and pleaded our innocent cause in their consciences: and so we parted with them, leaving our Master's peace among them.

The next day¹ we came to Wesel, being the fourth-day; where we understood by Dr. Schuler, that thy sister desired we would be so kind as to see her when we returned: upon that we went and visited her; she received us very kindly. Thy brother-in-law's two sisters were present; we stayed with her at least two hours. Many questions she put to me, which I was glad to have an opportunity to answer, for it made way for a meeting: she intreated us to come again if we stayed, and told us our visit was very grateful to her: adding, that because we passed her by the last time, she concluded with herself, 'we had no hopes of her;' with more to that effect. From thence we went to Dr. Schuler's, who freely offered us his house for a meeting next day: and, indeed, the man is bold, after his manner.

The next day² about seven, I writ a billet in French to thy sister, to inform her of the meeting to begin about eight: she came, and her two sisters with her; there was Rosendale, colonel Copius and his wife, and about three or four more; and to our great joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and his holy power reached their hearts, and the doctor and Copius thereby confessed to our testimony.

The meeting lasted about four hours: being ended, we took our leave of them in the Spirit of Jesus, and so returned to our inn. The taylor was all this while afraid of coming to our inn, or to the doctor's to the meeting: great fears have overtaken him, and the poor man liveth but in a dry land. After dinner we visited Copius and Rosendale; and at Copius's we had a blessed broken meeting; he, his wife, Rosendale, his wife, and another woman, (wife to one Dr. Willick's brother) present; they were extremely affected and

overcome by the power of the Lord: it was like one of our Herwerden meetings; indeed much tenderness was upon all their spirits.

This done, and having left books, both there, and with thy sister, we left Wesel with hearts full of joy and peace: and let me say this, that more kindness, and openness, we have scarcely found in all our travels: O that this blessed sense may dwell with them. A seed there is in that place God will gather; yea, a noble people he will find out: and I doubt not but there will be a good meeting of friends in that city before many years go about; my love is great to that place. O how good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our infirmities, and carrieth through all opposition, and feedeth us with his divine presence, in which is life! His candle hath hitherto rested on our tabernacle, and he hath made us glad in his own salvation: eternal glory be to his excellent name.

We immediately took a post-carr, and came next day,* about two in the afternoon, to Cleve, where we had a very precious meeting at an honest procurator's house, who received us with much love: four or five more were present, all grave and tender: our hearts were greatly affected with their love and simplicity. We also visited the lady Hubner, who was kind to us.

Next morning^x we set out for Nimeguen, and thence immediately to Utrecht, where we arrived that night; and took the night-boat for Amsterdam, because of a pressure upon my spirit to be next day at the meeting; and the rather, having intimated as much from Cullen.

We arrived in the morning^y at Amsterdam, where we found our dear friends generally well, the city much alarmed, and great curiosity in some, and desires in others, to come to the meeting. We had a very great meeting, and many people of note resorted: God's gospel-bell was rung, the great day of the Great God founded, and the "dead was raised," so

* 5. 8. 6. x 6. 8. 7. y 7. 8. 1.

as much tenderneſs appeared in ſeveral. O bleſſed be the name of the Lord, whoſe work and testimony proſpereth.

The next day was ſpent in divers affairs relating to the truth.*

The day following* we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams (the great father of the Socinian Meniſts in theſe parts) accompanied with ſeveral preachers and others of his congregation; divers of our friends were alſo preſent. It continued about five hours: he affirmed, in oppoſition to us, ‘That there was no ‘Chriſtian church, miniſtry, or commiſſion apoſtolicall ‘now in the world;’ but the Lord aſſiſted us, with his wiſdom and ſtrength, to confound his attempts.

Here endeth the Narrative.

I intend a viſit at the Hague to the lady Overkirk, ſiſter of the Somerdikes, and ſome others that have ſober characters of truth and friends; and thence to Rotterdam, where I have much to do, both with reſpect to meetings and the preſs.

Thus, my dear friend, have I given thee a tedious narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleaſant. Perhaps the brevity of my letters hereafter, may beſt apologize for the length of this: however, I conſider two things; one is, that thou haſt time enough, one time or other, to look over it; and next, that I have plentifully answered thy requeſts, and demonſtrated ‘I have not forgotten thee.’ O dear friend, let us live and remember one another (now abſent) in that divine ſenſe in which the Lord God diſſolved our ſpirits when together. O the *unity* of this *faith*, the *purity* of this *love*, and the *bond* of this *peace*! The Lord Jeſus be with thy ſpirit, and keep thee in this “the hour of thy temptation,” that thou mayeſt come forth as “gold ſeven times tried.” So ſhall thy testimony ſhine for the God that hath called thee,

* 8. 8. 2. * 9. 8. 3.

and

and he will reward thee with honour, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

" Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown." Jer. ii. 2. Dear friend consider this.

Yet again: " The way of the just is uprightness: thou, most upright, dost weigh the paths of the just; yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee, the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

" With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early; for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness."

" Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou also hast wrought all our works in us."

" O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by *thee only* we make mention of thy name."

" Lord, in trouble have they visited thee; they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them."

" Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain, and crieth out in her pangs, so have we been in thy sight, O Lord."

" We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth wind, we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth, neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen."

" Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead."

" Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast."

" For

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“ For behold, the Lord cometh out of his place,
“ to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their ini-
“ quities; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and
“ shall no more cover her slain.” Isa. xxvi. 7, 8, to
21. So come, dear Lord Jesus, that was dead, and is
alive, and liveth for ever. Amen.

Very dearly farewell,
Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth
for thy redemption,

W. P E N N.

Amsterdam, 10th of the
8th month, 1677.

The same day^b we had a blessed publick meeting,
never to be forgotten: O the majesty, glory, and life
that the Lord attended us with! Our hearts were
deeply affected with his presence; great reverence and
brokenness was over the meeting, more than I had
seen. The meeting done, we were opposed by a
preacher, who was closely encountered and pursued by
several merchants, &c. (not of us) that cried, ‘ He
‘ was rude and ignorant, and, that they had a testi-
‘ mony for us;’ and offered to dispute in our defence,
but the priest ran away: they followed him till they
housed him; what followed I know not.

It was upon me this day to engage Galenus Abra-
hams to a second conference, that we might more fully
debate and confute his grand objections against the
present ‘ dispensation of truth, and the heavenly mi-
‘ nistry witnessed among friends.’ He refused not my
offer of a second meeting, but sent me word his bu-
siness would not give him leave to let it be any time
this day.^c Upon which the next morning was fixed for
the conference, to begin at eight, which accordingly
it did, and held till one. The account of both the
conferences is not yet found; but with the latter some
of his own friends seemed better satisfied, and it ended

^b 10. 8. 4. ^c 11. 8. 5.

very comfortably to us, because to a general satisfaction.

The meeting thus ended, and having refreshed ourselves, after a solemn leave taken of our dear friends at Amsterdam, G. F. and myself went that night to Leyden, accompanied by B. F. Coming there late at night, we forbore to inquire after any worthy in that place.

But the next morning^d we found out two, one a German, of, or near, Darmstad, who not only expressed much love to the principle of truth, and unto us the friends thereof, but also informed us of a retired person, of great quality, that liveth about two hours back again towards Amsterdam, at a village called Wonderwick. Our resolutions of being that night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to visit by the way, made our return at that time impracticable. However, the relation of the German concerning the good inclinations of the great man and his wife, their disdain of the world, and voluntary retreat from the greatness and glory of it, rested strongly upon our spirits. This person presently conducted us to the house of one who had formerly been a professor in the university, and there left us.

To this person both G. F. and myself were more than ordinarily open: he was of a sweet, yet quick, of a wise, yet very loving and tender spirit: there were few strangers we felt greater love to. He assented to every thing we said: and truly his understanding was very clear and open to the things that lay upon us to declare; and he expressed his firm belief of great revolutions at hand, and that they should terminate in the setting up of the 'glorious kingdom of CHRIST' 'in the world.'

What shall I say? The man felt our spirits, and therefore loved us; and in the fresh sense of that love, writ a letter by us to a retired person at the Hague, like himself: which in several places of Germany was

the way whereby we found out most of the retired people we visited. After near two hours time with him, we took waggon for the Hague, leaving the peace of God upon him.

The first thing we did there, was to inquire out the lady Overkirk, a person of a retired and religious character, separated from the publick worship of that country: she was at home; but her husband's being with her, a great man of the army, of another disposition and way of living, hindered our access at that time.

The next person we went to, was a judge of the chief court of justice in that republick: he received us with great respect, and a more than ordinary desire to know the 'truth of our faith and principles.' We declared of the things most surely believed amongst us, in the power and love of God. He made his observations, objections, and queries upon several things we spake; to whom we replied, and explained all matters in question; insomuch as he declared himself satisfied in our confessions, and his 'good belief' of us and our principles.' We took a solemn and sensible leave of him, and we felt the witness of God reached in him, and his spirit tendered, which filled our hearts with dear love to him: he brought us to his street-door, and there we parted.

From him we went to visit that person for whom we had a letter from the doctor at Leyden, but he was not at home. We immediately took waggon for Delft, and from thence an express-boat for Rotterdam, where we arrived well about eight at night.

The next day^e was mostly spent in visiting of friends, and the friendly people in that place, which consisted of several persons of worldly note.

The next day,^f being the first day of the week, we had a large and blessed meeting, wherein the deep 'Mysteries of the kingdom of CHRIST and Antichrist,' were declared in the power of an endless life.' Se-

veral of divers religions were there, but no disturbance or contradiction; but a profound silence and reverent attention were over the meeting.⁵

That night I had a blessed meeting at my lodging, with those persons of note, that at some times visited our publick meetings, as that day, and have a conviction upon them: the Lord's love, truth and life, preciouslly reached towards them, and they were very sweetly affected.

Next day^b I bestowed in perfecting and correcting several publick letters, which I was moved to write, both in my first and second journey in Germany, and after my return to these Low-Countries. The titles whereof follow.*

- I. A Summons, or Call to Christendom; in an Earnest Expostulation with her, to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord that is at the Door.
- II. To all those who are sensible of the Day of their Visitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, wherever scattered throughout the World; but more especially in the High and Low-Dutch Nations; Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you.
- III. To all those Professors of Christianity, that are externally separated from the visible Sects and Fellowships in the Christian World, (so called) wherever Hidden or Scattered: True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from God the Father, through Christ Jesus, be increased.
- IV. A Tender Visitation, in the Love of God that overcometh the World, to all People in the

⁵ A person then convinced, though the world prevailed, died lately, acknowledging it, and cried out, 'How happy had I been, if I had then obeyed.'

^b 15. 8. 2.

* They are inserted in this collection.

High and Low-Dutch Nations, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and desire to know and worship God in Truth, and in Sincerity; containing a Plain Testimony to the Ancient and Apostolical Life, Way and Worship that God is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his Spirit and Truth.

The sense of the serious retreat of the great man we heard of at Leyden, was so strong upon me, that I could not see myself clear to leave the country before I had given him a visit. I purposed therefore the next morning to set forward to the Hague, from thence to Leyden, and so to Wonderwick.

I arrived there in the evening¹ with B. F. A. Sonnemans, and M. Sonnemans, and immediately made known our coming, and the end of it, to him and his wife, by the means of the young German, who was got thither before us to visit them. An invitation came to us all at our inn, and immediately we repaired to his house, which was very stately, and yet plain. He presently came to us, took us by the hand, and bid us 'heartily welcome.' We immediately sat down, and after some time of retirement, I spoke something of what was upon me; yet not before he had given us a sober and pathetic account of his life, and of the present frame and disposition of his spirit.

All this was in the absence of his wife; but so soon as I had finished what was then upon me to speak of the witness of God, and of its work in man, upon the occasion of the history he gave us of his life, he led us into another room, where his wife was: he told her, here were some Christian friends come to visit her; she saluted us very kindly.

We all sat down, and after some silence, the heavenly power of God did, in a living and tender manner, open their states and conditions to me, and opened

my mouth to them. The substance of my testimony was to this purpose, 'That *death* reigned from *Adam* ' to *Moses*; *Moses* was till the *prophets*; the '*prophets* ' till *John*; and *John* till *Christ*: what *Christ's* day ' was: how few see this day: and whilst people are ' talking of being in *CHRIST*, under grace, and not ' under the law, death reigneth over them, and they ' are not come to *Moses*, nor the shaking or quaking ' mountain, the thunderings, lightnings, and whirl- ' winds: and what was that way which led to *CHRIST*, ' and what it was to be *in* him, and under the govern- ' ment of his grace; directing them to the blessed ' principle of light, and truth, and grace, which God ' had shed abroad in their hearts. I declared the na- ' ture and manner of the appearing and operating of ' this principle; and appealed to their own conscience, ' for the truth of what was said:' and I can truly say, the holy life of *Jesus* was revealed amongst us, and, like oil, swam on the top of all. In this sense I was moved to kneel down and pray: great brokenness fell upon all; and *that* which was before the world began, was richly manifested in and amongst us.

The meeting being done, the great man and his wife blessed us, and the work of God in our hands, saying, with tears in his eyes, 'My house is blessed ' for *your sakes*; and blessed be God that I ever lived ' to see you.'

And thus we left them, though with much difficulty; for they pressed us, with great earnestness, both to eat and to lodge with them; and it was hard for them to bear our refusal. They said it was a scandal to their house, that they should let such good people as we were go out of it; or suffer us to lodge in any other place: but we declared our pre-engagement elsewhere, and that it was not for want of true kindness towards them.

One passage I had almost forgot to mention: 'I ' was,' said he, 'once at table with the duke of Hol- ' stein at Frederickstadt, when the magistrates came ' to complain against a people called Quakers in that ' city;

city: the duke was ready to be prejudiced against them; but at the very *naming* of them, I conceived a more than ordinary *kindness* in my mind towards them. I asked the magistrate what they were for a people? He told me that they would not pull off their hats to their superiors. I asked him, whether they would pull off their hats to *God*? He said, Yes. Said I, That may be the reason why they will not pull them off to *man*. Do they live peaceably? Yes. Do they pay their taxes? Yes. Do they rub their hats in your eyes? No. Do they do any harm with them? No. Why what is your quarrel then? They meet in silence, and they will not speak or pray unless they be *moved by the Spirit*. Why, that is according to the doctrine of scripture: if this be to be a Quaker, I would I were a Quaker too. But, said he, 'I never saw one before, but I bless God I see you now.' He very much inveighed against the false Christianity that is in the world, and greatly magnified a tender, mortified, and retired estate. I have great hopes he and his wife will die in the truth. We returned to our inn to supper, and to bed.

Next morning^t we took waggon for the Hague, where we met with Docemius, the king of Denmark's resident at Cullen, who had been at Rotterdam to seek us, and came back thither, with hopes to meet us. We had some service there with a lawyer; but were again disappointed of visiting the lady Overkirk, because of her husband's presence; and the other retired man before-mentioned was again from home: the judge would gladly have received us, but a great cause then depending commanded his attendance. That afternoon we took boat for Delft, and so to Rotterdam, where we all arrived well.

It was my desire to have been the next day^l at a meeting at Dort; but it seems that the way we hoped had been open for us, was shut, inasmuch that we were prevented of that service. However, I applied

myself to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be completed in those writings I left behind me to be printed.

The next day,^a being the sixth day of the week, we had a very blessed publick meeting, taking therein our leave of the country: and after that was done, we had another amongst friends, recommending to them the 'peaceable, tender, righteous TRUTH;' desiring that they might live and grow in it, and be a people to the Lord's praise; so should his work prosper, his dominion be enlarged and increased among them. In the evening I had also a meeting at my lodging among the great people of that place, of which I have before made mention: and magnified be the name of the Lord, his power did so sweetly visit them, and effectually reach them, that, at their departure, some of them fell upon our necks, and, with tears of love, prayed, that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have strength to answer our great travail for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the pure word of his grace in their hearts.

The next day,^a the generality of friends of that place met at Simon Johnson's house, early in the morning, where we took our leave of one another, in the love and power of the Lord, feeling his living presence with them that stayed, and with us that went.

Several accompanied us to the Briel, where we arrived about noon. There accompanied us the king of Denmark's resident at Cullen, who had been with us at those meetings at Rotterdam, P. Hendricks, and C. Rocloffs of Amsterdam, and A. Sonnemans, B. F. M. S. and S. J. with several others of Rotterdam. The packet-boat not being come, we were necessitated to lie there that night.

That night it was upon me, in the earnest love of God, to salute the princefs and countess, with a few farewell-lines, as followeth.

^a 19. 8. 6. ^a 20. 8. 7.

To the Princess ELIZABETH,

Salvation in the Cross, Amen.

Dear and truly respected friend,

MY soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear princess, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteousness, "Not my will, but thine be done, O God!" Thy days are few, and then thou must go to judgment: * then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and shew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all, that love it, to God. O that thou mayest be able to give an account with joy!

I could not leave this country, and not testify the resentments I bear in my mind of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court: the Lord Jesus reward thee: and surely he hath a blessing in store for thee. Go on, be steadfast, *overcome*, and thou shalt *inherit*. Do not despond: one that is mighty is near thee; a present help in the needful time of trouble. O let the desire of thy soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy strength! The youth shall faint, and the young men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayest not lose, but keep in that divine sense, which, by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princess, my sincere and Christian salutation. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

* She died about four years after.

Thy

Thy business I shall follow, with all the diligence and discretion I can, and by the first give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present thee with their dear love, and the rest with thee that love Jesus, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a *princess*, and therefore I use this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifest; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleasest, the salutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the inclosed. Dear princess, do not hinder, but help her: that may be required of her, which (considering thy circumstances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand *free*, and her freedom will make the passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I intreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewel, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am, more than I can say,

Thy great lover and respectful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

I refer thee to the inclosed for passages: we visited Giftall and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings at Amsterdam. *Vale in æternum.*

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, styled Countess of
HORNES.

Jesus be with thy spirit. Amen.

Beloved, and much esteemed for the sake of that love which is raised in thy heart to the eternal truth of God; the increase of which I earnestly desire; that thou mayest be more than conqueror, through the powerful workings of that divine love in thy soul,
which

which casteth out all false fear, and overcometh the world. In this eternal love it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: blessed are they that hold their fellowship in it. It is pure, harmless, patient, fervent, and constant: in fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed it *is* God, and they that live in *love*, live in *God*. If we keep and abide in him that hath visited us, we shall always feel his love as a fountain; and wonderful are the effects of it. 'O it can lay down its life for its friend!' It will break through all difficulty, and hath power to conquer death and the grave: this transcendeth the friendship of the world, and the vain-glorious honour of the courts of this world. This kindness is inviolable: our purest faith worketh by this love. O the tenderness of that soul in which this love liveth and hath place! the humility and compassion that always keep it company!

And who can lively enough describe the lovely image it giveth, the attracting and engaging conversation it hath: but it is discerned, and greatly valued, by the children of love, who are born of it, which all the children of *light* are. What shall I say? It is the great command, and it keepeth all the commands; love, pure and undefiled, it fulfilleth the law and gospel too: blessed are they that feel any of this love shed abroad in their hearts.

With this love it is that God hath loved us; and by the power of this love Christ Jesus hath died for us. Yea, it is this love that quickeneth us to Jesus, that inflameth our souls with pure and ardent love to him, and zeal for him: yea, it is this holy love, that forsakes father and mother, sister and brother, husband, wife, and children, house and land, liberty and life, for the sake of Jesus: that leaveth the dead to bury the dead, and followeth Jesus in the narrow way of regeneration: that can trust him in the winds, and in the earthquakes, in the fire, and in the waters; yea, when the floods come in, even unto the soul, this despondeth not, neither murmureth,

And

And as it cannot despair, so it never presumeth: yea, it can triumphantly say, What shall be able to separate me from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus? Shall principalities or powers? Things present, or things to come? Shall life or death? O no, neither time nor mortality.

My dear friend, let this noble plant of paradise grow in thy heart. Wait upon the Lord, that he would water it, and shine upon it, and make an hedge about it; that thy whole heart may be replenished with the heavenly increase and fruits of it. O that thou mayest grow, in thy inner man, in wisdom, strength, and a pure understanding; in favour with God, and with all people that are in the same nature and image! For the world only loveth its own.

I hoped not to have been so quick upon my last long letter; but God's pure love (that hath redeemed me from the earth, and the earthly nature and spirit) moved fervently upon my spirit to visit thee once more, before I leave this land. I deferred it to this extremity; and being not clear to go hence, I send thee my Christian salutation, in this pure love that many waters cannot quench, distance cannot make it forget, nor can time wear it out. My soul reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please him to preserve thee. Fear him, and thou needest not fear, for the angel of the Lord encampeth about those that trust in his name. The angel of his eternal presence guard thee, that none of the enemies of thy soul's peace may ever prevail against thee! Perseverance and victory be thy portion in this world, and a crown of endless glory be thy reward in that which is to come. Amen.

Since my last (being the day next after the date thereof) we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams and his company: the success thou mayest perhaps see suddenly in print, and therefore I shall defer the narrative: only, in general, our dear Lord, our staff and strength, was with us, and truth reigned over all.

That

That night we went to Leyden, where we visited some retired persons.

Thence, next day, to the Hague, where also we had a little meeting. O the lust and pride of that place! Thou camest into my mind as I walked in the streets, and I said in myself, 'Well! she hath chosen 'the better part.' O be faithful, and the Lord will give thee an eternal recompence!

Thence we came to Rotterdam, where the Lord hath given us several heavenly opportunities in private and publick.

We are now come to the Briel, and wait our passage. The Lord Jesus be with you that stay, and with us that go, that in him we may live and abide for ever.

Salute me to my French friend; bid her be constant. I wish thy servants felicity; but *thine* as mine own. God Almighty overshadow thee, hide thee under his pavilion, be thy shield, rock, and sanctuary for ever. Farewel, farewel.

Thy friend, and the Lord's servant,

W. P.

Briel, $\frac{20}{8}$ 8th month,
1677.

Next morning² the packet-boat arrived, and about ten we went on board, having first taken our solemn leave of those friends that accompanied us thither.

We immediately set sail, with a great number of passengers: but, by reason of contrary and tempestuous weather, we arrived not at Harwich till the third day about the 7th hour.³ Whence, next morning,⁴ I writ this following salutation and account to the friends of Holland and Germany, to return with the boat.

² 21. 8. 1. ¹ 22. 8. 2. ² 23. 8. 3. ³ 24. 8. 4.

A letter from Harwich, to friends in Holland and Germany, containing the passages from Holland to England.

Let this be sent to the friends in High and Low-Dutch-Land.

O My soul magnifieth the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the winds and the seas, and made us to drink of his salvation upon the great deeps! yea, we could not but praise him in the tempest, for all things are full of his majesty. Blessed is the eye that seeth, and the heart that dependeth upon him at all times. There is not another God; he is the *Lord* alone that the holy ancients trusted in, and were not confounded. What shall my soul render unto the Lord? We are full of his mercy, he hath made us witnesses of his care. We can say, in righteousness, they are blessed whose God is the Lord, and that serve all the day long no other master than our God.

Friends, this is an endeared salutation to you all in High and Low-Dutch-Land, in the deep and fresh sense of the Lord's preserving power. O that you may abide in that sense of him which he hath begotten in you, and in the reverent knowledge of him, according to the manifestation which you have received of him, in the light of his dear Son: that you may be faithful, and fervent for the Lord; that his glorious life and power may break through you; and these lands, long, dry, and barren as the wilderness, may spring and blossom as the rose. For what have we to do here, but to exalt him, that hath visited and loved us; yea, saved us in great measure? Ah, he is worthy! my spirit reverenceth him, my heart and soul do bow before him: eternal blessings dwell for ever with him.

Dear friends, my love floweth to you as a fountain. God, even my God, and your God, hath made you
dear

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dear to me; yea, dearer than all natural kindred. You are flesh of flesh indeed. Nor sea, nor land, nor time, nor place, can ever separate our joy, divide our communion, or wipe out the remembrance that I have of you. Yea, the living remembrance that my God often giveth me of you, in the life of his Son, abideth; which breaketh my heart to pieces: and I can say, I left much of my heart behind me; and the Lord only could have outwardly separated me so soon from you. O this love! that is stronger than death, more excellent than the love of women; for it endureth for ever: this privilege have all the saints. Jesus, the light of the world, that saveth from the world, be with you. Amen.

We got well last night about seven to Harwich, being three days and two nights at sea: most part of the time was a great storm of wind, and rain, and hail; the weather was against us, and the vessel so leaky, that two pumps went night and day, or we had perished. It is believed that they pumped twice more water out than the vessel could contain; but our peace was as a river, and our joy full. The seas had like to have washed some of the seamen over-board, but the great God preserved all well. Frights were among the people, and despondencies in some, but the Lord wrought deliverance for all: we were mightily thronged, which made it the more troublesome.

But it is observable, that though the Lord so wonderfully delivered us, yet some vain people soon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and conversation, not abiding in the sense of that hand which had delivered them: nor can any do it, as they should, but those that are turned to his appearance in their hearts, who know him to be a God "nigh at hand;" which, O! may it be your experience and portion for ever!

And the Lord be with you, and refresh and sustain you; and in all your temptations never leave you, nor forsake you; that conquerors you may be, and, in
the

the end of days and time, stand in your lot among the spirits of the just made perfect. Amen, Amen.

Yours in that which is eternal,

W. P.

Harwich, 24th of the 8th
month, 1677.

Here I left dear G. Fox, and Gertruyd Diricks and her children, that came over with us, to follow me in a coach; but I, having a desire to be that day¹ at Colchester meeting, went early away on horseback, G. K. accompanying me. We got to the meeting, and were well refreshed in friends.

That evening we had a mighty meeting at J. Furrey's house, where we lay; many being there of the town, that would not come to a publick meeting. And indeed the Lord's divine power and presence were in the assembly.

Next day² we had a great meeting at a marriage, where we had good service for the Lord. That afternoon about four, we took horse for London, G. F. &c. through miscarriage of a letter about the coach, not being come to Colchester. That night we lay at I. Raven's, eight miles on our way. There we met Giles Barnardiston, and William Bennet; with whom, and some other friends thereabout, we were comforted in the life and power of the Lord.

The day following³ we took our journey for London: we came there in good time that evening; where I found all things relating to friends in a good condition: blessed be the name of the Lord. I stayed about a week in town, both to visit friends at meetings, and to be serviceable to the more general affairs of truth; where a second letter from the princess Elizabeth came to hand.

¹ 25. 8. 5. ² 26. 8. 6. ³ 27. 8. 7.

Hertford,

Hertford, the 29th of October, 1677.

Dear friend,

YOUR tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, 'He accepts nothing that does not come from him:' If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most, I mean, to do all in and by his Son, I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me: but I am not able to teach others, being not "taught of God myself." Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

Your true friend,

ELIZABETH.

I almost forgot to tell you, that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenburg to return to Amsterdam: there is also a droffard of Limburgh near this place (to whom I gave an Exemplar of R. B.'s Apology) very desirous to speak with some of the friends.

The fifth day of the next week* I went to Worminghurst, my house in Suffex, where I found my dear wife, child, and family all well: blessed be the name of

* 1. 9, 5.

the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them, in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together: and I can say, truly blessed are they who can chearfully give up to serve the Lord: great shall be the increase and growth of their treasure, which shall never end.

To *him* that *was*, and *is*, and *is to come*, the eternal, holy, blessed, righteous, powerful, and faithful ONE, be glory, honour, and praise, dominion, and a kingdom, for ever and ever. Amen.

A third letter from the princess, which though it be after the closing of this journal, yet being an answer to one writ to her in Holland, relates to it.

This 17th of November, 1677.

Dear friend,

I Have received a letter from you, that seemeth to have been written at your passage into England; which I wish may be prosperous; without date, but not without virtue, to spur me on, to do and suffer the will of our God. I can say, in sincerity and truth, "Thy will be done, O God," because *I wish it heartily*; but I cannot speak in righteousness, until I *possess* that righteousness which is acceptable unto him. My house and my heart shall be always open to those that love him. Gichtell has been well satisfied with the conferences between you. As for my business, it will go as the Lord pleaseth; and I remain in him,

Your affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH.

There are more of this nature from her, and divers other persons of eminence in those parts, but not immediately relating to the journal, are therefore not published.

WILLIAM PENN.

END OF VOL. III.

